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University of California
Berkeley, California

University History Series

Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.

INDIA AND CHINA IN THE WORLD WAR I ERA; NEW DEAL AND MARSHALL PLAN;
AND UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

With an Introduction by
Leslie Lipson

Interviews Conducted by
Harriet Nathan
in 1987-1988

Since 1954 the Regional Oral History Office has been interviewing leading participants in or well-placed witnesses to major events in the development of Northern California, the West, and the Nation. Oral history is a modern research technique involving an interviewee and an informed interviewer in spontaneous conversation. The taped record is transcribed, lightly edited for continuity and clarity, and reviewed by the interviewee. The resulting manuscript is typed in final form, indexed, bound with photographs and illustrative materials, and placed in The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and other research collections for scholarly use. Because it is primary material, oral history is not intended to present the final, verified, or complete narrative of events. It is a spoken account, offered by the interviewee in response to questioning, and as such it is reflective, partisan, deeply involved, and irreplaceable.

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Professor Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., Kansas
City, Missouri, April 22, 1972

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Cataloging Information

BLAISDELL, Thomas C., Jr. (1895-1988) Professor, government administrator

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Childhood, Chautauqua experience; study at Alma College, Penn State and Germany before World War I; degrees in social work from Columbia School of Social Work, and Ph.D. in economics, Columbia, 1932; teaching in Ewing Christian College in India, 1917-1918, and in Chinghua College in pre-revolutionary China; public service in Roosevelt and Truman administrations, 1933-1951, including Resettlement Administration, Social Security Board's Bureau of Research and Statistics, Commerce Department; post-World War II planning; from 1951 Professor of Political Science, specializing in American government, Director, Bureau of International Relations, University of California, Berkeley; board of Truman Library Institute; comments on Rexford Tugwell, Arthur Altmeyer, Wilbur Cohen, Averell Harriman, John Maynard Keynes, Eleanor Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, Louis Brandeis, Paul Taylor, Harry Truman.

Introduction by Leslie Lipson, Professor of Political Science, Emeritus.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS--Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.

PREFACE	i
INTRODUCTION--by Leslie Lipson	iv
INTERVIEW HISTORY	vi
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION	xi
 I	
FAMILY LIFE, STUDIES, AND MEMORIES OF PENNSYLVANIA AND MICHIGAN	1
Chautauqua, an Educational Venture	1
Father's Textbooks	2
House at Crafton, and the Fire	3
The Prohibition Movement	4
Walking to School, and Loving the Teacher	6
Water, Milk, and Soot in the Air	8
Live-In Help	9
Father's Father: Oil and the Ministry	10
Boyhood Experiences	11
Michigan, and Father's College Teaching	13
Lansing High School: Working at the College, the Farms, the Foundry	13
Aversion to Shakespeare, and Discovering Science and Math	17
The Community Church	19
Father as President of Alma College	21
Oberrealschule in Germany	22
Politics at Home, and the Progressives' Role	26
Back to Alma College, on to Penn State (1916)	27
 II	
INDIA (1916-1919)	29
Teaching History at Ewing Christian College	29
The Moghul Empire	30
India Piece	31
Indian Civil Service	32
Trading Companies and the East Indian Trade	33
Languages, Script, Transport, and Living Arrangements	34
Sectarian Colleges, and Jobs for Graduates	39
Britain in India and the US in the Philippines	40
Training for the Elite, and Construction by Hand Labor	42
Indian National Congress, and Leadership	44
Schools for Religious Training, and Nonreligious Political Control	46
Sharecropping, Slavery, Apartheid, Discrimination: India and the US	48
Regions, Land, and Economic Philosophy	52
Typhoid Fever	54
Hiking in the Hills	55
Influenza Epidemic, and Going Home (1918-1919)	57

III	WORKING IN THE POST-WAR WORLDS: US AND CHINA (1922-1925)	60
	Interning in a Welfare Agency	60
	YMCA and the Student Volunteer Movement	60
	Columbia/New York School of Social Work, Marriage, and a Job in China (1922)	62
	Keynes, Economics, and International Affairs	64
	Famine Relief and War Lords	67
	Westerners' Standard of Living in China	69
	Chinese Customs Service	69
	Western Investment and the Customs Service	70
	Chinese Postal Service	71
	Treaties, and Extraterritorial Rights	72
	China and the West: Chinghua College	73
	Catharine's Teaching in China (1923) and the US	75
	Public and Private Schools in the US	77
	China: Travel, Rugs, and Community Service	78
	Trans-Siberian Railroad, Mukden to Moscow (1925)	84
	Stopover in Moscow	87
	Soviets' New Economic Policy (1925)	88
	Transit Visa and Madame Krupskaya	89
	Friends in Berlin and Paris	90
	Job-Hunting in New York	93
IV	DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS: TEACHING AT COLUMBIA COLLEGE (1925-1933)	95
	Keynes: Economics, Government, and Private Enterprise (1925)	95
	Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West	97
	Influence and Career Advice from Senior Professors	98
V	ROOSEVELT AND TRUMAN ADMINISTRATIONS, AND THE WORLD WAR II ERA (1933-1951)	100
	Preparation for Government Service	100
	Controls, Government, and the Private Economy	100
	Consumer Interests and Small Business	101
	The Purpose of Quotas, and Consumer Protection	102
	Trade or Protection: Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act	104
	Tugwell, Wallace, and the La Follettes	105
	Mrs. Roosevelt	108
	Some Government Posts	108
	Social Science Jobs in the Civil Service	110
	Corporative Organization by Industry	112
	Marketing Issues and Quotas	113
	Consumers Advisory Board and Mrs. Rumsey (1933)	116
	Consumers' Interests and the End of the NRA [NIRA] (1935)	118
	More on Tugwell's Roles and Interests	120
	Resettlement Administration and Other Agencies (1935-1936)	121
	Cotton, Southern Labor, and Producers' Coops	124
	Brandeis and the NRA Ruling	126
	Collapse of the Economy (1929), and Failure of the Federal Reserve	130
	Hopkins and His Style	132
	Government Service, and Suggestions for Berkeley	134
	Commerce Department Award	135

Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board (1936-1938)	136
Arthur Altmeyer, Wilbur Cohen, and Robert Ball	141
Paul Taylor and Dorothea Lange	142
Federal Trade Commission (1938-1939), and the Securities and Exchange Commission	143
Industrial Committee, National Resources Planning Board	144
The Goose Creek Meeting (1938)	146
Temporary National Economic Committee (1938)	149
Work in Wartime Agencies; More on the NRPB	151
Relationship of Full Employment to the Steel Industry	153
War Production Board Planning Committee, and Rules on Steel, Copper, Aluminum	155
Tripartite Character of US Government	158
Wartime Priorities and Personnel	161
Forming Wartime Policy	163
Director, Bureau of Orders and Regulations (1943-1944)	163
Mission for Economic Affairs (Foreign Economic Administration)	165
Looking Toward the Marshall Plan and Post-War Allied Forces	170
Lend-Lease and President Truman	171
Secretary Hull and Reciprocal Trade Agreements	172
Churchill at the US Embassy	173
Conversation with Keynes	174
Social Destruction of Western Europe	176
Chief Justice Warren, Presidents Hoover and Truman	177
International Relations, Reciprocal Trade, and the United Nations	179
Marshall Plan Proposal and the Paris Conference (1948)	181
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) Negotiations (1951)	182
Lend-Lease vis-à-vis the Marshall Plan	183
More on the Mission for Economic Affairs, and the Agreements on Coal, Food, and Railways (1945)	184
More on Lend-Lease	186
Moving Industrial Equipment from One Country to Another	188
Diplomatic and Military Views	188
From London: Chaim Weizman, Israel Sieff, Simon Marks	189
Joining the Department of Commerce (1947-1951)	191
Commerce Staff, Leadership, and the Marshall Plan	194
Rise of Loyalty Issues	195
Loyalty Investigation and Two Principles (late 1940s)	198
Marshall Plan, NATO, and Assignment to Paris (1951)	200

VI	PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UC BERKELEY	202
	Thinking About Berkeley, and a Group of Friends	202
	Director, Bureau of International Relations	204
	Notes on the Institute of International Studies	207
	Organizations with International Focus	208
	International Visitors Program, and the Peace Corps	208
	International House	211
	I House and the World Affairs Council of Northern California	213
	Understanding the University's Administrative Structure, and the Academic Senate	214
	Cal-in-the-Capital (Washington D.C.) and Elsewhere	215
	Skill of University Staff Members	219

Role and Location of Special Libraries and Institutes	219
Definition by Nation, Culture, Land Ownership	224
Professor Condliffe and the Message of Keynes	226
Bringing Governmental Experience to Teaching	227
Immigration, and Its Consequences	228
International Experience, the Bureau, and the Culture of the University	229
International Conference on Agriculture and Cooperative Credit (1952)	231
Government-University Relationship, Point 4, and Peace Corps Liaison	234
Programs in Indonesia	237
Paul Taylor and the Indonesian Economics Program (1955)	240
Observations on Intercampus Relationships	241
Clark Kerr's Leadership, Student Role, and Universitywide vs. Local Structure	242
More on Library Locations	245
Foreign Affairs and Academics' Criticism	247
Pacific Rim, Communism, and Religion	248
Relations Among Communist Movements	251
More on IIS: Comments on Structure	253
IIS Programs: Slavic and East European Studies, and the Far East	256
IIS Organization and Departmental Power	258
Proposals for a School of International Studies	259
Issues of Control, and Lessons from the Federal Government Service on Committees	260 265
APPENDICES	267
I Letter to "Dear Friends of Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr." from Tom and Jane Blaisdell, dated January 2, 1989	269
II Papers concerning The American Presidency in Political Cartoons, 1776-1976	270
a. Notes on a conversation, November 28, 1988	270
b. Introduction: presentation to Presidential interns July 1979	271
c. Introductory pages, Political Cartoons catalog	272
III Papers concerning the Truman Library and the Institute	278
a. Notes on a conversation, November 29, 1988	278
b. Letter from Paul R. Porter, October 24, 1979	280
c. Letter from John S. Service, April 24, 1981	281
d. Letter from Elmer B. Staats, April 21, 1987 and draft agreement between the Truman Library Institute and Duke University	282
e. Letter from Charles S. Murphy, January 15, 1979	286
f. Letter from Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., January 31, 1979	287
g. Letter from Ben Zobrist for Charles S. Murphy, April 18, 1979	288
h. Statement on "The Ending of Lend-Lease," by Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., May 1, 1979 (written)	289

i.	Statement on "Full Employment Policy," by Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., May 1, 1979 (written)	291
j.	Draft of Statement on "The Struggle Over ITO," by Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., 1979 (written)	293
k.	Letter from Tom Blaisdell, March 26, 1980	297
l.	Letter from Charles S. Murphy, March 19, 1981	299
IV	Papers concerning the Ditchley Foundation	301
a.	Ditchley Foundation Lecture, April 27, 1962, opening address, Sir John Wheeler-Bennett	301
b.	Closing remarks, Hon. G. Lewis Jones	304
c.	Minutes of Informal Conference on Anglo-American Relationships, April 28, 1962	306
V	Biographical summaries by Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr. for various purposes	313
a.	Focused primarily on University of California service, August 1974	313
b.	Focused primarily on professional and volunteer community activity, June 1976	323
c.	Primarily employment summary with brief descriptions of responsibilities (no date)	326
VI	International Conference on Agricultural and Cooperative Credit--Introduction to the first of two volumes of Proceedings, published 1953. Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., Director	343
VII	Senior Farewell Meeting, UC Berkeley, May 14, 1963--speech by Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr. on behalf of retiring professors	347
VIII	Letters, Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr. and David E. Lilienthal	351
a.	Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., June 3, 1963	351
b.	David E. Lilienthal, June 5, 1963	352
c.	Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., October 3, 1963	353
d.	David E. Lilienthal, October 9, 1963	354
IX	Tea to celebrate an 85th birthday. Invitation signed Tom Blaisdell	355
X	Why Eleanor Roosevelt? (draft June 28, 1988)	356
XI	Traveling (summary, 1988)	358
XII	Maurine Mulliner, "Senator Wagner's right hand" during the Roosevelt administration	360
a.	Letter to "Dear Letter Writers & Telephoners" September 26, 1988	360
b.	<u>Washington Post</u> , October 12, 1988 re: women in the Cosmos Club	362

XIII	Notes on a conversation, November 14, 1988: The Steel Connection, The Japanese Trip, The Foreign Language Connection, and the World Affairs Council of Northern California	363
XIV	Interview: "A Professional Jewel," <u>San Francisco Examiner</u> June 19, 1987	366
INDEX		367

PREFACE

When President Robert Gordon Sproul proposed that the Regents of the University of California establish a Regional Oral History Office, he was eager to have the office document both the University's history and its impact on the state. The Regents established the office in 1954, "to tape record the memoirs of persons who have contributed significantly to the history of California and the West," thus embracing President Sproul's vision and expanding its scope.

Administratively, the new program at Berkeley was placed within the library, but the budget line was direct to the Office of the President. An Academic Senate committee served as executive. In the more than three decades that followed, the program has grown in scope and personnel, and has taken its place as a division of The Bancroft Library, the University's manuscript and rare books Library. The essential purpose of the office, however, remains as it was in the beginning: to document the movers and shakers of California and the West, and to give special attention to those who have strong and often continuing links to the University of California.

The Regional Oral History Office at Berkeley is the oldest such entity within the University system, and the University History series is the Regional Oral History Office's longest established series of memoirs. That series documents the institutional history of the University. It captures the flavor of incidents, events, personalities, and details that formal records cannot reach. It traces the contributions of graduates and faculty members, officers and staff in the statewide arena, and reveals the ways the University and the community have learned to deal with each other over time.

The University History series provides background in two areas. First is the external setting, the ways the University stimulates, serves, and responds to the community through research, publication, and the education of generalists and specialists. The other is the internal history that binds together University participants from a variety of eras and specialties, and reminds them of interests in common. For faculty, staff, and alumni, the University History memoirs serve as reminders of the work of predecessors, and foster a sense of responsibility toward those who will join the University in years to come. For those who are interviewed, the memoirs present a chance to express perceptions about the University and its role, and offer one's own legacy of memories to the University itself.

The University History series over the years has enjoyed financial support from a variety of sources. These include alumni groups and individuals, members of particular industries and those involved in specific subject fields, campus departments, administrative units and special groups, as well as grants and private gifts. Some examples follow.

Professor Walton Bean, with the aid of Verne A. Stadtman, Centennial Editor, conducted a number of significant oral history memoirs in cooperation with the University's Centennial History Project (1968). More recently, the Women's Faculty Club supported a series on the club and its members in order to preserve insights into the role of women in the faculty, in research areas, and in administrative fields. Guided by Richard Erickson, the Alumni Association has supported a variety of interviews, including those with Ida Sproul, wife of the President; athletic coaches Clint Evans and Brutus Hamilton; and alumnus Jean Carter Witter.

The California Wine Industry Series reached to the University campus by featuring Professors Maynard A. Amerine and William V. Cruess, among others. Regent Elinor Heller was interviewed in the series on California Women Political Leaders, with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities; her oral history included an extensive discussion of her years with the University through interviews funded by her family's gift to the University.

On campus, the Friends of the East Asiatic Library and the UC Berkeley Foundation supported the memoir of Elizabeth Huff, the library's founder; the Water Resources Center provided for the interviews of Professors Percy H. McGaughey, Sidney T. Harding, and Wilfred Langelier. Their own academic units and friends joined to contribute for such memoirists as Dean Ewald T. Grether, Business Administration; Professor Garff Wilson, Public Ceremonies; Regents' Secretary Marjorie Woolman; and Dean Morrough P. O'Brien, Engineering.

As the class gift on their 50th Anniversary, the Class of 1931 endowed an oral history series titled "The University of California, Source of Community Leaders." These interviews will reflect President Sproul's vision by encompassing leadership both state- and nationwide, as well as in special fields, and will include memoirists from the University's alumni, faculty members and administrators. The first oral history focused on President Sproul himself. Interviews with 34 key individuals dealt with his career from student years in the early 1900s through his term as the University's 11th President, from 1930-1958.

More recently, University President David Pierpoint Gardner has shown his interest in and support for oral histories, as a result of his own views and in harmony with President Sproul's original intent. The University History memoirs continue to document the life of the University and to link its community more closely -- Regents, alumni, faculty, staff members, and students. Through these oral history interviews, the University keeps its own history alive, along with the flavor of irreplaceable personal memories, experiences, and perceptions.

A full list of completed memoirs and those in process in the series is included in this volume.

The Regional Oral History Office is under the the direction of Willa K. Baum and under the administrative supervision of The Bancroft Library.

9 November 1987
Regional Oral History Office
University of California
Berkeley, California

Harriet Nathan, Series Director
University History Series

Willa K. Baum, Division Head
Regional Oral History Office

INTRODUCTION--by Leslie Lipson

For all who knew him, Tom Blaisdell was a rare and unforgettable human being. In his long and distinguished life many traits and roles were combined. He was humanist and humanitarian, teacher and statesman, realist and idealist, practitioner of long-held values and inspired innovator.

I was not personally acquainted with him before he joined the Berkeley faculty. But not long after his arriving here we formed a friendship which lasted for nearly four decades until his death. What was it that drew me to him? His liberal values, his warmth and compassion, his integrity in matters of principle.

The circumstances under which Tom Blaisdell came to the University of California are worth recording. Frank Russell, Professor of Political Science and Director of the Bureau of International Relations, was retiring and the department had to search for his replacement. Great support was voiced for the nomination of Dean Rusk, who had taught at Mills College and was then serving in the State Department. Rusk came to campus, and many of us met him and listened to his views. A group, myself included, who were not favorably impressed, got together informally to combine in opposition. One of our number, Lloyd Fisher, said, "You don't beat somebody with nobody. We have to offer an alternative." At that point, the name of Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr. was suggested. We had heard him recently as a luncheon speaker at a conference on international affairs organized by Peter Odegard, then the department chairman. Blaisdell's speech on that occasion had been outstanding; his wisdom and insights just glowed. Accordingly, we pushed for him against Rusk, and we won. I told Tom of this many years later, at the time of his retirement. He was both surprised and flattered. In the 1960s I could not help wondering to myself whether our country's history might have been any different had Rusk been appointed here. Would President Kennedy then have selected him for Secretary of State and would he have been in a position to advise President Johnson on his disastrous course in Vietnam?

In Blaisdell we found a man of vision and a statesman, one who in addition to his high ideals had a strong sense of the practical. These qualities were amply demonstrated when the Bureau of International Relations was reorganized and expanded into an Institute of International Studies. He was its first executive secretary and continued to serve in that post until his retirement. These duties brought him into continuous

negotiation with the campus administration, with departmental chairmen, and with scholars focused on their research. In this elaborate tangle of relationships, Tom steered his course with a combination of firmness and tact. Once I asked him, as an "old Washington hand," which organization had the more complicated structure--the federal government or the University of California. Without a second's hesitation he replied "the latter."

When you became familiar with his personal qualities, you could not fail to discern that Tom Blaisdell was an unusually impressive human being. In outward manner, he appeared modest and even unassuming. He never boasted of his numerous accomplishments, nor was he one to drop names, although he had consorted with the high and mighty, both at home and abroad. But underneath that calm exterior, there lay a core of steel. This was a man dedicated to principle and to the social values in which he believed. In their pursuit, he was uncompromising. His was an absolute integrity. None of us ever knew him to engage in the power plays, the conspiracies and turf battles which occur in large organizations. In his Washington years, he is said to have sometimes come out the loser in those encounters. But it was characteristic of Tom that in such situations he would prefer to be the victim than the victor.

On the walls of his office, he kept three portraits of men whom he revered and these tell us much about his own values. One was the Holbein painting of Erasmus in profile, for it was natural that one with Blaisdell's values should admire the great humanist of the Renaissance. A second was a photo of Dag Hammarskjöld, whose international ideals and high ethics matched his own. The third was of William O. Douglas, his fellow New Dealer, for Tom was proud and staunchly a political liberal to the end of his days.

He served this University with distinction, as he served this country. We were honored to have him as our colleague and friend. We treasure his memory.

Leslie Lipson
Professor of Political Science,
Emeritus

May 1991
Berkeley, California

INTERVIEW HISTORY--Thomas C. Blaisdell

When Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., Emeritus Professor of Political Science was recalled to campus service in the mid-70s, he set about organizing the splendid bicentennial collection and exhibit, the American Presidency in Political Cartoons. By then, many of us knew him by reputation and had developed a nodding acquaintance as he and his students walked briskly through old Eshleman Court. Clearly, the cartoons project epitomized his way of teaching at the Berkeley campus, and earlier both at Columbia University and overseas. His style was to involve and trust his students, to help them feel at home in the world, and to bring them face-to-face with governmental issues and political reality.

In his long career he had developed understanding of other cultures, learning to work effectively in various times and places on continents around the globe, as well as in the nation's capital during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. As a young man, he taught in India during the era of the British Raj, and in pre-revolutionary China. During one bitter winter, he and a colleague sought out a northern Chinese warlord and obtained the gift of a carload of food for famine-stricken Peking. In Washington and on overseas assignments, he served President Roosevelt during the New Deal and the World War II years, and President Truman in postwar domestic and international affairs including preparations for the Marshall Plan.

After Professor Blaisdell joined the Berkeley faculty in 1951, he used his widely based knowledge in a variety of ways. Almost before he knew his way around campus in 1952, he directed the International Conference on Agricultural and Cooperative Credit, supported financially by the federal departments of State and Agriculture, and the Mutual Security Agency. The conference was a rousing success, and under his leadership four major conference-related volumes were published within little over a year. As he explained it, this accomplishment meant that he and the conference's executive secretary Elizabeth K. Bauer found a way to circumvent the slow timetable of the Government Printing Office and to produce the books when they could be most useful.

During his recall to the campus more than twenty years later, he devised the Cartoons project with a seminar of thirteen students, in a venture sponsored jointly by the departments of the History of Art, and Political Science. For two years the students collected the original cartoons, and he and Peter Selz, Professor of Art History, with the University Art Museum produced "The American Presidency in Political

Cartoons: 1771-1976" for the amusement and enlightenment of students, the University community, and a broad and appreciative public. "Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., Peter Selz, and Seminar" also wrote the catalog that accompanied the traveling show.

For years, many of Professor Blaisdell's friends, faculty colleagues, and students had urged that he provide an oral history memoir as part of the University History Series. Early in 1987 Amy and Tom Worth, two former students who became his close friends, pressed the case more urgently and volunteered to take leadership in raising funds to make the memoir possible. Soon faculty members and friends joined in. As the list of donors in this volume indicates, they and their associates succeeded, and found enough early responses to allow the first of eighteen interviews to take place on May 20, 1987.

The last six interviews (December 15, 1987 through August 15, 1988) took place in the morning in the Berkeley Hills above the campus, in his home on Greenwood Common where he and his late wife Catharine had lived for a number of years. He sat at the small diningroom table, with an outlook to the livingroom, where he could see the rugs that his wife had chosen from the China days. To the left was his garden in a private courtyard. His usual wear on campus included jacket and tie; at home he wore a professorial cardigan over a crisp shirt. From time to time friends would look in to perform an errand, or to collect him for a joint marketing expedition.

Professor Blaisdell was ninety-two when research preparations and the first interviews got underway. A flexible schedule enabled him to speak for the record when he felt his best, and to use other occasions to plan for supplementing the tapes by written inserts or summary discussions. In the later, "Notes on a Conversation," the interviewer would take notes on discussions to serve as reminders of ideas for later development, or as Appendix entries.

Further, as an academic and public servant he had prepared a number of biographical documents summarizing his activities and accomplishments (Appendix V). He also wrote a nine page pamphlet "Notes at Ninety," dated December 2, 1985, in which he responded to friends' requests "to account for myself." (The pamphlet is deposited with various papers and books in The Bancroft Library as a supplement to the oral history memoir.)

During the interviews, Professor Blaisdell consulted the interview's suggested topic outline and made his selections. His manner of speaking was easy, and sparked with wit and insight.

He found the methods of oral history congenial, particularly in showing him one of the advantages of age: the shift in perspective. He

said, "You begin to realize the extent to which things that at the time were of no importance--remembering back--come into focus and are seen as part of a whole series of related activities that otherwise one just forgets."

As soon as the taped interviews were transcribed and lightly edited, Professor Blaisdell reviewed and approved them after responding to a few additional questions. He also approved the typed inserts and the interviewer's drafted "Notes on a Conversation" as they were completed; and took part in selecting Appendix material on the political cartoons presentations (Appendix II) and his work on the board of directors of the Harry S. Truman Library Institute (Appendix III). The possibility for taped interviews on these topics was never realized. Professor Blaisdell died quietly and unexpectedly at home on December 27, 1988. His son and daughter-in-law Tom and Jane Blaisdell wrote of his death in a letter to "Dear Friends of Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.," which they kindly have contributed as Appendix I in this volume.

In Professor Blaisdell's views and ways of speaking, one could hear both the professor and the professional diplomat. He could be outspoken in his judgement of issues, as when he described aspects of American race relations as "apartheid." However, when he spoke of individuals with whom he differed, he used the language of opinion and point of view, reserving stronger statements for his private thoughts.

He expressed admiration and respect for a number of men and women in public and private life, but his outspoken appreciation of able women--including his wife and Eleanor Roosevelt--suggested an early sympathy for feminism. As he said,

In my years in government, including those spent in London, spent in different governmental departments, I say without hesitation that without the help of primarily the women who worked with me I never would have been able to accomplish any of the things which I did accomplish and of which I still remain very proud.

In Berkeley... Mrs. Cleo Stoker was one who demonstrated, not for me only but for so many other people within this University, what contributions devoted people can make to an institution.

Thomas Blaisdell's friends observed that he often called himself a lucky man, a view that may have helped him avoid getting bogged down in earlier periods of his life or lingering in nostalgia; instead, his viewpoint was that of one living fully in the present and looking to the future with curiosity. His interests continued to develop over his lifetime, enabling him to apply the insights from one field, government, to another, the University. He liked to jolt his seminars with the statement, "To the student of American government, the striking feature

is that all three parts--administrative, congressional, and judicial--each administrators legislates, and adjudicates: all three." He also liked to call attention to the overlap and ambiguities in Universities governance as well.

Professor Blaisdell's own educational record offers some clues to the range and development of his interests. His B.A. degree included premedical courses and a major in German; he had a diploma in social work, an M.A. in social history, and a Ph.D. in economics. From this background he soon came to recognize the interrelationships among economics, politics, and international relations. He said that in later years he came to question the notion of nationhood and the problems of defining "a nation." His next self-assignment was to learn more about an area that needed more research: the effect of religion on politics in various countries worldwide.

He retained his capacity for zest and enjoyment, his lifelong fascination with travel, his extensive reading lists and his interest in the books he reviewed for the Truman Library prizes. In his long perspective he was often skeptical but not cynical as he pulled together the aspects of his active and productive life. He appreciated the ways past events shaped the demands of the present, and looked to the future with its promise of problems to be considered, work to be done, and many more books to be read.

Thanks are due to many individuals who have provided significant help in the production of this memoir, often in more than one area. In addition to those on the donor list, they include: Thomas M. and Jane Blaisdell, Professors Leslie Lipson, William Muir, Carl Rosberg, Austin Ranney, and Eugene Lee; also Dora Siu, Sheila Saxby, Cleo Stoker, Elinor Van Horn, Sheridan Warrick, Amy and Tom Worth, Tehan Carey Bunim, and the late Jane Lehman.

In addition, Ray Geselbracht of the Truman Library provided the following information (June 1991) in response to an inquiry: The Truman Library has a small collection--about four cubic feet--of materials concerning Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.'s earlier career in government through the early 1950s.

Professor Blaisdell also designated several items to be deposited in the Bancroft Library as a supplement to his memoirs.

Harriet Nathan
Interviewer-Editor

June 1991
Regional Oral History Office
University of California, Berkeley

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.

Date of birth December 2, 1895 Birthplace Pittsburgh, Pa.

Father's full name Thomas C. Blaisdell

Occupation Educator; High School; College Dean; College President Birthplace _____

Mother's full name Kate Household Christy

Occupation Housekeeper Birthplace Sewickly, Pa.

Your spouse Catharine Maltby Blaisdell

Your children Thomas Maltby Blaisdell

Where did you grow up? Pittsburgh, Pa.; Chautauqua Lake, Chautauqua, NY; East Lansing, Mich.; Berlin, Germany; State College, Pa.
Present community Berkeley, CA

Education Crafton, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Lansing Mich.; Alma College, Alma, Mich.;

Königstädische Oberrealschule, Berlin, Germany; Pennsylvania State College; Columbia University

Occupation(s) College professor, government employee

Areas of expertise History (United Kingdom; India; USA; American government); Government administration; University administration

Other interests or activities Tennis; golf; hiking; orchestral music; travel

Organizations in which you are active World Affairs Council of Northern California; World Affairs Committee (San Francisco); University of California Faculty Club

Saturday, December 31, 1988

Professor Emeritus Thomas Blaisdell Jr.

Thomas C. Blaisdell Jr., considered a key designer of the Marshall Plan, died Tuesday in Berkeley at age 93.

Mr. Blaisdell worked for the federal government and was an assistant secretary of commerce under President Harry Truman. He later became a professor of political science at the University of California at Berkeley.

Many colleagues said Mr. Blaisdell was the principal designer of the Marshall Plan, which helped to finance the rebuilding of Europe after World War II. It was named after George Marshall, President Truman's secretary of state.

From 1951 until 1963, he was a professor of political science at the University of California at Berkeley. In 1963, he assumed the status of professor emeritus but continued teaching and writing books.

Mr. Blaisdell was born Dec. 2, 1895 in Pittsburgh. He earned his bachelor's degree from Pennsylvania State College in 1916. He did post-graduate study at Columbia University, earning his master's degree in social history in 1922 and his doctorate in 1932. He taught at Columbia from 1925 to 1932.

In 1933, he went to Washington to join President Franklin Roosevelt's administration as assistant to the director of consumers' counsel in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

During the next two decades, he held a number of federal positions, first related to U.S. recovery from the Depression and then related to World War II and European recovery.

During the war, he first worked with the War Production Board and the Office of War Mobilization and Reconstruction. Then, in 1945, he became chief of mission for economic affairs in the Foreign Economic Administration.

His responsibilities were first in London, helping to carry out the Lend-Lease Agreement with the British and then working on overall European recovery.

Mr. Blaisdell's last federal post before joining the Berkeley faculty was as assistant secretary of commerce under President Truman.

At UC Berkeley's Institute of International Studies, Mr. Blaisdell directed research and teaching in the field of international studies.

Mr. Blaisdell also taught at the Fromm Institute for Higher Learning at the University of San Francisco.

Mr. Blaisdell also served as a member of the board of directors of International House at UC Berkeley; as a trustee of the World Affairs Council of Northern California; as a consultant to the Ford Foundation, and as a leader of a team to evaluate the United Nations' Technical Assistance Project in Thailand in 1965.

Mr. Blaisdell is survived by a son and daughter-in-law, Thomas M. and Jane F. Blaisdell of Saratoga; his brother, William M. Blaisdell of Washington, two grandchildren and two great-grandchildren.

Saturday, December 31, 1988

Thomas Blaisdell Jr.

The Tribune

BERKELEY — Thomas C. Blaisdell Jr., a distinguished political scientist at the University of California at Berkeley and one of the architects of the Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe after World War II, died here Tuesday. He was 93.

Professor Blaisdell joined the UC Berkeley faculty in 1951 after a long career in federal public service that began during the New Deal era and culminated in the planning of the post-war recovery in Europe.

His last federal job was as Assistant Secretary of Commerce in the Truman administration.

He began at UC as a professor of political science. In 1953, he joined the founding of the Institute of International Studies where he remained as executive secretary until 1961. In 1963, he became professor emeritus, but remained active in teaching, writing and campus affairs until his death.

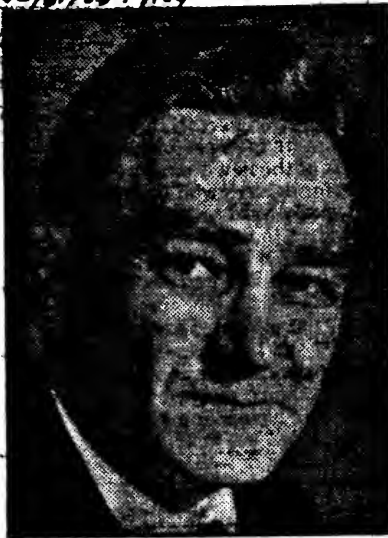
In 1987, he was one of several emeritus professors to teach special freshman seminars.

He was the Berkeley campus liaison with the Peace Corps, and UC was honored last year for producing more Peace Corps volunteers than any other campus in the nation.

In 1986, UC honored him with its prestigious Berkeley Citation for distinguished service to the nation and university.

Professor Blaisdell was born in Pittsburgh, Penn. He earned his bachelor of arts degrees at Pennsylvania State College in 1916, and did his postgraduate study at Columbia University, where he earned a master's degree and a doctoral degree in social history. He taught at Columbia from 1925 to 1932, and in 1933 he went to Washington, D.C., to join President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "brain trust."

Through the next two decades he held several federal jobs, beginning with his help with U.S. national recovery from the Great Depression, and continuing through World War II with the War Production Board and the Office of War Mobilization and Reconstruction. In 1945, he became chief of mission for eco-



Thomas C. Blaisdell Jr.

UC professor emeritus economic affairs in the Foreign Economic Administration, working in London to carry out lend-lease agreements and then on European recovery.

His colleagues have called him one of the major architects of the Marshall Plan proclaimed in 1947 by Secretary of State George C. Marshall.

During his years at UC he served on the board of directors of International House and had a prominent role in fostering the UC campus as a major center for research and teaching in the field of international studies. He was a trustee of the World Affairs Council of Northern California, a consultant to the Ford Foundation, and led a team to evaluate a United Nations technical assistance project in Thailand in 1965.

Among his scholarly publications are a 1976 bicentennial book "The American Presidency in Political Cartoons," in collaboration with UC Berkeley professor of art history Peter Selz.

Professor Blaisdell is survived by a son, Thomas M. Blaisdell of Saratoga; a brother, William M. Blaisdell of Washington, D.C.; two grandchildren; and two great grandchildren.

No funeral service is planned, and Blaisdell's family prefers that donations be made in his memory to The Fund for Cal in the Capital, UC Berkeley Foundation, UC Berkeley, Berkeley 94720, or to The Young Musicians Program, Department of Music, 104 Morrison Hall, UC Berkeley 94720, or to the Harry S. Truman Institute, in care of Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Mo., 64050.

I FAMILY LIFE, STUDIES, AND MEMORIES OF PENNSYLVANIA AND
MICHIGAN

Nathan: We can begin at any place that you like. I have suggested your family and early years, but tell me whatever you would like to.

Chautauqua, an Educational Venture

Blaisdell: As I look back now on notes that I have made before, one of the things that I omitted is the experience of my family as we were young, when my father and mother had a cottage at Chautauqua Lake, New York. Chautauqua became a social movement. Originally, it was a private, educational development, located at the lake, surrounded with a fence, probably five miles around. There was no auditorium, but an outdoor open, auditorium-like place, almost a tent. It was where the principal lectures were held.

There were also training schools for the arts, but it was essentially an educational venture and had been sold to the residents as a summer place, to my father and his associates in the Pittsburgh schools.

It was still the era when normal public high schools were the training schools for teaching the lower grades. Just to note it, my father seems to have followed the progression from that early normal school teaching through his life, because through the rest of his life he was changing from one phase of education, usually to a supposedly higher level. Nowadays we're reverting to whether the early education isn't the higher level, but that's one of those changes.

Chautauqua Lake was a very great influence on me. I was the second child in the family. My sister was two years older than I, but she was always held back, and I was always pushed forward when we went to school so that we could walk to school

together. This was a very important thing in my life, and my sister's, until we separated in college. She, in many ways, was my closest friend.

Later came the two brothers, both born at Chautauqua Lake.

Nathan: May I ask you, is this the origin of the Chautauqua lecturers who traveled the country?

Blaisdell: This is the origin of the Chautauqua movement, which was adopted by many educational institutions. At a later time, my brother, who attended Swarthmore College, worked at this movement for a summer. There was the Swarthmore Chautauqua which sent a touring group. There were many of these touring groups that organized like a circus, two weeks, a week or ten days, collected a group of lecturers. They were a form of higher education and continuing education particularly, which were very influential in those years. How long? I don't know whether there are still any of them or not.

Nathan: I don't either. That is a name that I have heard many times.

Blaisdell: Yes, they were very significant as a part of American education, and particularly in the Midwest. There were fewer of them in the East, although they originated there at Chautauqua Lake.

During that period, there was a hotel at Chautauqua for visitors who came to lecture, and that became a center where quite often my father would invite people to come to lecture. I would be asked to go down to the hotel, pick them up, and bring them up for interviews at our home. We had a cottage, and, again, participation in an educational adventure.

Father's Textbooks

Blaisdell: My father and two other of his teaching associates in Pittsburgh began to write a series of textbooks called Steps in English. He was an English professor. He later added to the Steps in English another one called Composition Rhetoric; those grew out of his teaching experience in Pittsburgh.

Composition Rhetoric (if my memory is correct and it may not be) was his doctoral thesis, and his was the first Ph.D. doctorate given by what is now the University of Pittsburgh.

In those days it was the University of Western Pennsylvania. Its character has been changed very decidedly.

Life at Chautauqua, where the two other sons were born, brings to mind the basic memory, particularly of one, the youngest son. He was to be born there, but it was going to be after our father went back to Pittsburgh to teach. The date was September 14, 1900. The date of 1900 is interesting. Again, unless my memory fails me, it was the date when President McKinley was shot early in August. We got word of that one evening when we were living in the house, and we wondered, "Why?" Presumably it was the act of a deranged mind, later proven accurately so.

That experience was lightened in some way for me by the first money that I ever earned.

Nathan: How did you do that?

Blaisdell: That was by going out on the street once a week and selling the Chautauqua Assembly Herald, a newspaper. The actual dates I don't remember, but it was an interesting item because it meant that I was really a part of the Chautauqua Assembly. It was a difficult thing to do, because one had to go out on the street and shout Chautauqua Assembly Herald [shouts]--but that was the custom of newspapers in those days.

Nathan: You were still a small boy then?

Blaisdell: Yes. Anyhow, at the time of the birth of my brother--shortly after father had gone back to Pittsburgh, mother, the two younger brothers and I, and our sister, went back there too. Of course, it was by train, and mother was carrying William, Bill.

House at Crafton, and the Fire

Blaisdell: We went out on the suburban train from Pittsburgh railway station to the suburb of Crafton. Crafton was a new development. All those years in Pittsburgh we looked for a place to live that we could afford, and that was only in the new developments.

That development was on top of a hill, and we went to school later, walking down into the town of Crafton, but we were living clear on the edge, because that's where the houses

were cheap. There were four in a row; they were all wooden houses, the cheapest type of construction, and those houses were just fine for fire.

Mother was carrying the baby; and the other children and I all got off the trolley-car. As we got off, we looked across a little narrow valley to our house, and the house was on fire. There was a wind, and before it was through, the four houses had gone.

So what next?

Well, neighbors were very good. They housed us briefly until the next day, and I remember that early morning--I was a boy then, six years old--and dad had gone out to look at what was left. Most of his books had been thrown out the window by good neighbors, and they were all over the surrounding lots. Anyhow, there they were. The neighbors were a great help. Otherwise the collection, his working library would have been gone.

A number of things were salvaged from the wreckage--furniture, and that sort of thing. We went, as it turned out, to our mother's brother, one of our uncles who lived in Pittsburgh. He was a jewelry merchant, and they had in their house room to take care of all of us by packing us in tightly, and we stayed there for several months, while dad and mother were locating another place to live. This was all fine.

Her [mother's] parents I remember very little about. I remember my grandfather very well. I don't remember that grandmother.

The Prohibition Movement

Blaisdell: I just remember that our grandfather, coming home from his office one night--he was a lawyer--had stopped at the pub on the way, and he was a little uncertain. As he got off the trolley, he stumbled and fell, and that was the first major accident in the family that I remember. John Barleycorn had already been born.

It was not unimportant because, in our life, one of the things which had its influence on my father was that, politically, he refused to be either a Democrat or a Republican. He became a Prohibitionist. The Prohibition

Movement was a fascinating part of our life in many ways, and, curiously enough, from the standpoint of the University of California, my first chairman here in the Department of Political Science, Prof. Odegard--I must say more about Professor Peter Odegard later--but at this particular point it is worth noting that Prof. Odegard's Ph.D. thesis was called The Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

That book, his doctoral thesis, became the beginning of a whole series of studies in political science. It was the story of the Anti-Saloon League, and the influence of the Anti-Saloon League on American politics, which, of course, eventually became the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and then Prohibition. That whole series of activities comes to mind with my grandfather's stumble when he got off the trolley-car. [laughter]

Nathan: Very neat image. In your mind, was there any religious connection, any church tie with that group?

Blaisdell: In that connection, the religious significance appears in our father's refusal to allow us to have Sunday newspapers. On Sunday, one read religious things. Religion was very important. We went to Sunday school, and this later became, as I remember it, his introduction of religion into public schools, because he didn't teach religion. He taught "The Bible as Literature." He slipped it by, if we can put it that way, and that little incident is not unknown here at the University of California, where also there were various devices by which the significance of literature, in spite of the separation of church and state, became a very important part of the teaching of literature, and of the teaching here at the University, as the years went by with different chancellors. A very important, large, gift to the University established the canon law collection in the Law School.* As I remember it, it was a \$10 million gift that made this possible, and it is also interesting in this connection, the number of people who suddenly discovered they had an interest in canon law [laughter]. The professor of canon law, Professor Noonan, became an appointee of President Reagan to the appellate court here on the West Coast--I forget the name and number of the district. It was a very significant gift, and it happened only a year ago, or maybe two, as I recall.

*The Revel Drinkwater and Saditha McCullough Robbins Fund was established by Dr. Lloyd M. Robbins to support studies in the field.

Walking to School, and Loving the Teacher

Blaisdell: But a further word about the city. I mentioned that we lived in Crafton, one of the suburbs of Pittsburgh. This was where my sister and I started school, and, as I noted, she was held back a grade, and I was pushed forward a grade, and we went together to the same class. I have a fond memory of the first teacher that we had. I don't remember anything about the school, except the lovely teacher. What did she teach us? I don't know, except it must have been those ABC's that we all had, and our arithmetic, and so on. But it was a lovely introduction to school, and I am sure that it had a considerable influence on whether we liked school, or whether we didn't.

At home there was plenty of reading to us by both our parents, but we loved going to school. I guess the part that I remember best is that we had to walk about a mile, my sister and I, and in rainy weather, the clay was terrible, and we slid all over the place. In those years of early development on the edge of town, there were no cement walks. There were wooden walkways.

This reminds me of a very important part of my education outside of school, namely the workmen that I got to know who were building houses. One of them particularly, of whom I became very, very fond, was an Italian stone mason. The Italian stone masons were common in those years, working in the development of houses all over the country, for that matter, wherever there was masonry work to be done, and there was lots of it. But my memory goes to this workman, and at lunchtime, I would take a bucket of milk out to the men having their lunch. The milk was delivered in tin buckets, and this again was quite a comparison to the way we now buy it in paper cartons. It went through that whole period, and historically, it became significant again to me when I had my first job in government because one of the most difficult tasks had to do with the regulation of milk. That we'll talk about maybe later.

Anyhow, that significance of walking to school, learning, falling in love with a school teacher like a second mother-- very happy memories.

After the house burned, of course, we moved into town, as I mentioned, and then we moved to another new development. It was a little bit more, what shall I say, higher class, or at least higher-cost row of houses on a dead-end street that

bumped up against a stone wall where there was a cemetery, and that was shut off from us completely.

At that residence, we were at a new public school, which was one of the reasons that dad and mother picked that place.

Nathan: Was this in Pittsburgh?

Blaisdell: This was in Pittsburgh, known as Pittsburgh West End. Pittsburgh West End just bordered on the steel mill area, so it was not very far, but it was on--I was going to say the ranch.

Nathan: So you were locating your West End residence, within sight of the mills perhaps?

Blaisdell: Yes, it had been a farm. In fact the old farm looked very much like a southern plantation house. I've forgotten whether there were two pillars or four--could have been either one, don't remember. There was surrounding it a small, say, a block-long wood with trees--lovely. As we went through from our house, down the street and across, there was a lovely path through the trees, which was always an enjoyable business. Again, we walked to school--must have been at least a half mile. That was mostly down hill on the street, but on the back of the house there was a yard. We had not had a yard in the Crafton house amounting to anything.

I really should revert to the Crafton house just for one very important item, and that was that the run-off of rain through the cellar became a very important item that we had to look out for, because, when the fire came, the water supply for the fire never got up that high on the hill. They never put a drop of water on that fire, simply because there was not water pressure that brought the water up to that elevation. It tells us something about the state of city development in those years, a very important, historically significant thing in the development of water supplies, availability, and so on. It was one reason, of course, that rents were cheap.

Anyhow, coming back to our house there--the name Sterrett flashes through my mind. The school was Sterrett School. Sterrett School was supposed to be one of the best schools in Pittsburgh.

Water, Milk, and Soot in the Air

Blaisdell: At our house we looked out across a very shallow little valley. Down at the base were a stream and a spring house. In the spring house was a cool spring that came out with fresh water, and down a slight slope was the pasture, where the resident in the big house, the plantation house, kept cows. The spring house was very important because the milk was kept cool there. One of the daily chores was to walk down to the spring house to get the fresh milk. Again, milk supply in cities now is a considerably different story, but the idea of pasteurizing--not yet, not yet.

Nathan: So the cities had a rural aspect still?

Blaisdell: The cities had a very rural aspect, I mean, West End, Pittsburgh, was very rural, and it was not too far from the steel mills. I was never particularly aware of the steel mills, except it made a great difference with the atmosphere. Pittsburgh in those years was a terrible place if you were in town, because of two things. Not only the steel mills, but the burning of coal meant that Pittsburgh matched London for its fogs and smogs, and the smogs were very important.

Between the Sterrett School and the Crafton School, we also had a second place to live. I don't remember much about it. The only thing I can remember about it was that father rode his bicycle to school, and on several occasions I remember his coming back instead of going on to school because his linen was so soiled from his riding through smog that he had to come back home and change before he went on to teach.

Nathan: So there was soot in the air?

Blaisdell: There was literally soot in the air from the steel mills. We had a sample at the Sterrett residence--the street I don't remember, but I do remember very clearly that meadow where the cattle were grazed, because on a Sunday afternoon, when the weather was good and the sun was bright, and it was warm, we would take picnic down on it. As we looked up into the blue sky, there were red clouds, orangey-red, not heavy, but sufficient so that you knew these clouds were red ore from the mills, from the stacks of the mills, and that, again, helped account for this sooty business.

There was another evidence of this smog and all, because this was before the era of electric lights. Our lights were natural gas, which was very plentiful, very cheap. Of course,

we still have natural gas, lots of it, but in those days lighting was one of its principal uses. Particular mantles produced the glowing light from the heat of burning gas--they broke very easily, much more easily than electric light bulbs. Just touch them, and they would be no good. Of course, at Chautauqua, our only light was kerosene oil lamps, something that I got to know very well because cleaning oil lamps was one of the things which we were brought up to do, having to clean the wicks and having to wash the shades and all. The chimneys are very important. So all of this gives me kind of an uncertain picture of what those years were at Sterrett School. We lived there long enough so that I got into my earliest beginning of high school. It was just before we went to high school.

Live-In Help

Blaisdell: There is another interesting thing about our life at that time, because with four children at home, mother and dad were very much home people, taking care of the home. Dad had his repair kits, and mother did all of the cooking, but at that time, somehow or other--I never knew how they did it--we began to have "live-in" help. And live-in help--this was eighty years ago--was very common. The live-in help was taking care of everything.

Nathan: Was this usually a young woman?

Blaisdell: Could be a young woman, could be middle-aged. The help, whom we had, was, I guess, forty years old.

Nathan: A single person?

Blaisdell: Single, and she shared with care of the children, shared in the kitchen, shared with anything which needed doing, had her time off when she went to visit friends and all, who were nearby.

Anyhow, it's just the fact that the amount of "living-in" is today a sign of being pretty well off. People don't have that privilege or economic capability. We think today of women being employed in business, but we don't think very often or very much of them being employed at home. Home, live-in and all is work, but women worked. Shifting the locus of work is also quite significant, I think, and a measurement of these changes in our social life over the years.

Father's Father: Oil and the Ministry

Blaisdell: Let's go back and take a quick look at my grandfather.

Nathan: Is this maternal or paternal?

Blaisdell: I mentioned my mother's father, but this is my father's father, whom I remember very well. He was a Methodist minister, and his parish was at one end of Chautauqua Lake, the town of Mayville. On Chautauqua Lake there was a small steamboat. Mayville was at one end. I think the name of it was Cimarron, at the other end of the lake. There was a playground, with a ferris wheel and a carousel, and--What do you call them? You see there was the ferris wheel, and the boat rides, and the carousel, and--

Nathan: A big dipper?

Blaisdell: Yes, a big dipper type of thing. I remember very well one time when they had an accident on the dipper, and somebody was very badly injured. Supposedly, it was safe.

Our grandfather came to the pastorate in a rather interesting way. Their home had been in Oil City, and Oil City was the place where oil was first discovered in the United States: Oil City, Pennsylvania. Oil became the easiest business to get into (I knew nothing of this personally, because I was still on my way, I hadn't arrived yet), but one of the stories that I was told was that our grandfather had at least two, maybe three times when he really became wealthy. In that era, as you became wealthy, you also failed--not unknown today. After he had failed a couple of times, he followed his religious streak. The religious streak was apparent in those days, so public, so widespread.

People went to church every week, and people went not only on Sunday, but also to prayer meetings in the middle of the week. There was Sunday school for the children, which was as much a part of a way of life then as it isn't today. Anyhow, grandfather became convinced that somehow the Lord didn't want him to have wealth, didn't want him to be rich. So what was it? Well, he was called to the ministry.

Nathan: How old was he when he had the call?

Blaisdell: I'm sorry, I just don't know, because, you see, that was before the days when I got to know him, and maybe this is a fable. It may have been one of those things that children pick up from

their parents and their friends, from their uncles and aunts, and grandfathers and grandmothers.

Grandmother was very strict. I think grandfather was John William Blaisdell, and my grandmother was Harriet Irene Morse. Morse became one of the brothers' middle name.

Nathan: Did you ever hear your grandfather preach?

Blaisdell: Yes, I heard him many times. He was not a great preacher, bored me to death, but nevertheless, it was the way. Ministers didn't get paid very much. Cash was the last thing that came in. It was collected in the church every Sunday of course, but it never amounted to a great deal, so one of the things that was very important was the market garden. A fond memory is grandfather going out in the summer, coming in with an armload of sweet corn just ready to go into the boiling water, and there never was any sweet corn that tasted as good as that. It was lovely.

Boyhood Experiences

Blaisdell: The experience with helping grandfather dig in the garden, hoeing, and so on--later I began to get more experience of that variety--it was one of those things that was so enriching. One of the things that mother and grandmother did a great deal of in the summertime was the canning of fruit, and berries also were available, and they got canned. Cans were always glass jars. Steel plated with tin was known as tin cans.

But the boyhood experience contained another item. Dad would put two of us on the seat of his bicycle and ride the bicycle path from Chautauqua to Mayville, and we often would be allowed to spend a weekend with grandfather and grandmother. One of my chores was, in the summer, in the middle of berry season, to go pick blackberries, later to be canned, and that experience came because this was a city on the edge of coal mines. The train that went to the coal mines left every morning about 4:30 or 5 o'clock, something like that, so the miners could get to the mines. They worked all day until their coal cars were filled and ready to go. The train took the coal cars to the mine, they were filled, and when they were filled, the whistle blew, and the train went back to Mayville.

We boys loved nothing better than to get up that early in the morning and get a ride on the train, which cost nothing, of

course, and then, with a ten-quart pail, fill it with blackberries and bring them back into town where they were promptly canned by mother or grandmother. The vegetables from the garden were canned, and that meant that every summer, we took not only blackberries, but we also took the vegetables back to Pittsburgh to help last the wintertime.

These were the years when the borders of the towns and the cities were close together, and the idea of marketing and selling and all became part of an educational experience which came later.

As I mentioned, when we moved from Crafton to the West End of Pittsburgh we went to the Sterrett School. My father was not teaching there. He was teaching in the normal high school there in Pittsburgh, and, as I said previously, father and his associates wrote their books there.

The Sterrett School was also lovely, because the participation of the teachers with the students was rather remarkable. One of the early musical experiences was with a music teacher who came around. They didn't teach much in the way of music, I had a lot more piano training at home, but that was different. To have had a teacher of music coming to the school was a great, presumably, addition to education. This teacher would come maybe once a month, and we looked forward to his coming. He would bring along a little pitch pipe to set the tone, and then he would have us do some singing. That was a real experience. It was much more fun than singing in church--it was fun.

Then in the spring, we had a rather unusual May Day. Because in the undeveloped valley just behind the school, there were beautiful wildflowers, May Day meant that the school would be free from classes, and we had the day picking flowers in the valley. The flowers were all put in bunches. Putting the flowers in bunches was a very important thing because they were sent downtown to the schools where there were no flowers, and where children didn't have the opportunity to go into the woods and pick flowers. So we shared the flowers with the other children at schools elsewhere. That was fun, but it was also nice, shall we say, one of the really choice things in that school, an attempt to add some form of cultural development in the school. It was a wonderful experience.

Michigan, and Father's College Teaching

Blaisdell: From that school, though, we left Pittsburgh, and we left behind us the Pittsburgh experience and moved to Michigan. In a sense, this was part of father's experience, sort of getting promoted along with the growth of the school systems. This new promotion that he had was at the Michigan Agricultural College. Michigan Agricultural College is now Michigan State University, but the Agricultural College was part of the federal land-grant system, and those schools were basically agriculture and mechanical engineering. The mechanical engineering had different weight in different places.

At a later date, dad went to Pennsylvania State College, which was also a land-grant institution, and at that institution, the mechanical engineering was much more important than the agriculture. In Michigan it was agriculture; in Pennsylvania it was mining and oil that were important. In other words, these were both a very important part of the industrial and agricultural life of the country. Of course, the University of California is also, basically, a land-grant college, and the agriculture of the State of California has a great deal to do with it.

Maybe we can make a note here that in the development of California in these much later years, not only was the Agricultural Extension Service developed, but it was developed in close relations with some of the banking institutions. That connection remains rather close, not only with the bank very close to the University, but in San Francisco, the establishment of the Bank of America was particularly close, so that there is on the campus here in Berkeley Giannini Hall, made available by President Giannini, the first president of the Bank of America. Agricultural development was very closely linked with the extension service of the University. The University here also was a college to begin with and became a university.

Lansing High School: Working at the College, the Farms, the Foundry

Blaisdell: But let's go back then to East Lansing, Michigan. East Lansing, Michigan, was a three-mile trolley car ride to town. Students went back and forth, but with us, it was the way to high school. High school was Lansing High School, Lansing

being the capital city. In those days, I have a figure in the back of my mind that it was a city of about 30,000. It was also a manufacturing city, where automobiles were manufactured, and gasoline engines were a very important part of the mechanics of the city.

One of my school mates, who also lived in East Lansing, was the son of a business man who worked in Lansing, lived in East Lansing, and he was the first person that I can remember who had an automobile. The automobile, once in a while, would be driven to school, and we had the great privilege of, once in a while, riding in the automobile.

My father stayed there at the college for some years, and, before we left, we also had an automobile. It was one of those cars that was built there, and in those years it was known as "the Reo." The Reo factory was owned by Mr. R.E. Olds, and that became the Reo. Of course, today, having been absorbed into what became General Motors, the Oldsmobile is the descendant of that old original Reo.

My experience at Mayville and working with grandfather, and also the first experience of earning money, meant that, also there, I wanted to earn money. Money became not the be-all and end-all, as dad and mother always gave us our allowance every week. It wasn't very much, but it was something, and if we could earn some money otherwise in addition, it was all ours. What they gave us, well, that was part of being in the family.

The first real money-earning was summer work. There were several varieties. As part of the college curriculum and part of the service to the state, to the agriculture in the state, there was an annual Summer Fair week at the college.

Nathan: Were you still in high school at this point?

Blaisdell: I was still in high school. The Summer Fair at the college meant that there were farmers from all over the state who came for lectures, for concerts, for the display, just like any other fair. They had the animals produced at home and brought to the fair to be shown, and the cooking of the families, and the athletic events. We had no horse racing. Why, I don't know, but we didn't.

Anyhow, one of those first little jobs of earning money --we discovered that when the farmers came to town, somebody had to take care of their luggage, so we became bellhops, so to speak, helping them in the dormitories and the houses where

they went. Much of the luggage would be checked; so we did the checking of the luggage, and the ticketing of all these things. That was one way of earning money, and it was real cash; that was really important.

There were also other experiences that related to the college, because, as any agricultural college, it had its experimental station, and the experimental developments, the teaching that goes with it, and all. In the experimental farms, there was some real farming, and the real farming started early in the spring with the planting of sugar beets, and then the process of the development of the beets. Each beet seed will develop five, four, six shoots, and if the beet is going to be of decent size, those shoots have to be gotten rid of. So people were hired, working on hands and knees on the beet rows, to thin the beets. Somebody went ahead with a hoe, and the beets were so-called blocked, and then the workers, the boys, who did the work of the thinning finished the job. We each had a little, fancy hoe that we used, but it was really hard work. We went to the beet fields at 6 in the morning, and we had our half hour for lunch, no hour, a half hour, and then we would finish about 5 o'clock, at which hour we rode our bikes home.

Nathan: Did you bring your lunch?

Blaisdell: Oh, yes, we brought our lunch, that was very much a part of that half-hour lunch. The boys always got into scrapes of one kind or another, and we did our share of wrestling and had our fun.

In the school, it was the local high school in town--actually, I'm sure, and here my memory is a bit fuzzy, but I think it was the seventh and eighth grades that we had in East Lansing, and then in Lansing on to high school.

But anyhow, that farming experience was quite varied, for after the beets came the thinning of corn, thinning for weeds. Then after that came the oat harvest. The harvesting machines went through the fields, and then the boys or the men followed up. As the language went, we "shocked the bundles" as they came off the harvesting machine. The oat harvest was followed, not much later, by the wheat. So you had corn, and you had oats, and you had wheat. The shocks were left to dry; and they were shocked so that they shed water in a reasonable amount.

Another event, really an event, was that at the end of the season, the threshing machines came through. The shocks were then brought in from the fields, fed into the threshing

machines, and the grain was placed in bags and stored. This was part of the process. You never could tell when the threshing machine was coming to your farm. You knew approximately, but you wanted to be sure that your grain was dry for the threshing, so to protect it, it was put in the mow in the barn from the shocks.

Nathan: Was that to dry?

Blaisdell: Having dried partly in the fields, it was then put into the mows.

Part of that process was also the cutting of hay. The hay, of course, was for the cattle and for horses. Since this was in the days before motor transport, the horses went to the fields with the hay wagons for the grain, and they brought the grain shocks in for stowing in the mows. So you had the hay mows. Those were the years when second or third crops of hay were just developing; that was part of the experiment station work. We learned, as the years began to go by, through the first, and second year of doing this, that "Gee, there must be some farms around here who also were doing this sort of business. Wonder if they pay the same?" We discovered that if we went to work for one of the farmers that we could get a little more money, maybe \$1.25 a day, not an hour. We got ten cents an hour, and that was good pay, or maybe we got a little more. So we would then see if we could get in a couple of weeks that way before school started, that was all to the good. The particular fun was unloading hay or grain into the mow, from the haywagon, and then, as the threshing machines came through again, out it came, and we had to take care of that. But all this had its measure of fun. It was wonderful work.

So that was summer, and in the winter we earned our money by shoveling snow, cleaning the sidewalks, and that sort of thing. And if my memory is right, neighbors always had to pay us a little something, and this added a little something to our allowance for cleaning the sidewalks.

During the school year, we also went on hayrides. Hayrides, again, were one of the lovely things. It was the horses that pulled the sleighs, and these, too, one remembers with great joy.

Nathan: This sounds like physically hard work that you were doing.

Blaisdell: It was physically hard work. In the last high school summer, we discovered in town the industrial activities that went along with motorcar building and other engine work. We could earn a

lot more money than we could on the farm. That last summer of high school, at that time I must have been just about sixteen. I graduated at sixteen from high school.

We went to work in an iron foundry. An iron foundry was a place to make castings for engines and the molds for the castings, in which the molten metal was poured for the engines, then cooled, and cleaned before polishing. At that iron work, the making of the molds was what we were hired to do as we became apprentice molders. That summer again, I learned a lot, because not only did I learn to be a molder, but also I had my first experience with a strike, because the molders went on strike. We became strike-breakers as boys, and, finishing high school, we hardly knew what this was all about. We would be stopped as we were going to work early, and the striking molders tried to persuade us that we shouldn't go to work. But the supervisors were working, and they were also willing to teach, so we chose to work. A few were made senior workers. They were working on one type of project; we were working on another. Molds were put in furnaces for drying, and the next morning, after having spent the night drying, they were taken out; the sand was brushed off them, and they were made ready to receive the poured metal. This was all a real experience, and it was entirely different from the farming.

Nathan: Was it dangerous in any way?

Blaisdell: Was it dangerous? It had dangerous qualities, not many, but removing the molds from the furnaces could mean that some occasionally would get burned. The molds were supposed to have been cooled sufficiently so that there wasn't any real problem. You couldn't say that there was any real danger until the metal was poured. There you had to be very careful. And most of us boys doing molding were kept away from the heat. I can't even remember the name of where the iron was melted--cupola, something like that.

Aversion to Shakespeare, and Discovering Science and Math

Nathan: You learned so much in the summer time. Did you learn anything in the winter time?

Blaisdell: This is a very interesting question. I was supposed to be a pretty good student, not a grade A, but still not too bad, and I was a great disappointment to my father, particularly because my English was very bad. I despised my English teacher,

because she had her ideas of how all the boys and girls ought to recite Shakespeare. She would keep us after school when we didn't. So I never really learned to appreciate Shakespeare in spite of the fact that my father later edited a whole edition of Shakespeare. One of the things which I never became adept at was writing essays. Again, a great disappointment to my father, and, as the years have gone by, a great handicap, because I never really learned how to write. Writing became one of the most difficult things that I ever had to do, both when I went to government and later. Of course I had to grade the essays when I was teaching. That came later.

But as regards the early schooling and school learning there were the teachers, and there were many friends. One of those friends was there in high school. (It was in his father's foundry that we went to work.) He was a special friend. He and I both began to learn in our high school years. I got a taste of science in addition to math. I liked math, and I liked science. I liked my physics so much that when it came to preparing the experiments for the classes in lab, I asked the teacher if I could help prepare them. So, sure enough, he was glad to have somebody interested enough, and the day before lab for everybody, he and I put the experiments together for his lectures and for the students in the laboratory.

Among the interests that developed was one that began with the first experiments that we did in electricity and with the telegraph. We learned the telegraph first, and telegraphing. And then from that, the next thing we learned was the telephone. You hitched up your telephone lines so that we could talk back and forth, and we made our own telephone between our houses, we boys, and we loved it. It was the idea that these were things you could do. In other words, we worked with our hands, and it was just a pleasure, sheer pleasure.

I think I must correct one thing. I was telling about how my friend and I did trial telegraph operations. What we were actually doing was wireless transmissions. We were not hearing one another's voices; we were doing telegraph, wireless telegraph, with dots and dashes, because at that time, voice was not being transmitted. Those were still the years when the buffs were doing their stuff on wireless telegraph. And that was fun for us and far-out, and we learned a lot doing it. OK, so much for that.

Chemistry I didn't get to like until I got to college, but in high school I did like physics. I still have, in the collection of little gimmicks that I've got, a small gold

penknife which was the gift from my physics teacher that I had for participating in the preparation of the experiments. It's really a beautiful little penknife. It was nice of him to do that. It was a graduating present; it was a memory, and as it turned out, a very pleasant experience.

The Community Church

Nathan: Are you ready to go to Alma College yet?

Blaisdell: Not quite. First, I think, a little on the religious side, which, in the ensuing years, became even more important. It was while we were living in East Lansing that the first experiences with the organizing of a church came to be part of our life.

Father and mother's religious interests were such that, as I have told, we went to Sunday school, and we went to church meetings. When we moved to East Lansing, one of the sad things was that there was no church. The nearest church was in Lansing. As it developed, dad and a few of his associates in the college said, "We must have a church." Well, what denomination should it be? They said, "We don't care about denomination. Denominations are nothing. It is the essence of the Christian faith which is important." And so, as they talked it over and made their decision, they decided, "This will be the Community Church," and they established, literally, the Community Church of East Lansing. Because they felt that any church must have association with other churches, they felt that they needed to associate with some denomination. So which denomination has the least ritual? They picked the Congregational Church. That church is still very active. They had very little in the way of ritual. Their Articles of Faith were the simplest. The principal article, I think, still remains with me: "I believe in the teachings of Jesus Christ, and, with the help of God, I will strive, day by day, to live the life of purity, of unselfishness, and helpfulness which He exemplified to the world." And that was it.

It became, literally, a community church, and it still is. That's the essence of it.

At the same time as this was going on, dad became acquainted with the various denominational churches that were very much a part of the life of Michigan in those years. There was the Presbyterian Church, there was the Methodist Church,

and they each had colleges. Alma College was a Presbyterian college. Albion College was the Methodist college. Their church affiliation meant that they had very little in the way of funds. They were always raising money, and they often couldn't have full-time teachers. My father kept being invited to come and speak at the Sunday service, for which he received a nominal sum in addition to his salary as a professor, a teacher in the college where he was head of the English Department.

I think it's very important in my interests to remember that my father and mother had maintained a close relationship with the Protestant church, and that this started very early in our family history. I remember only too well how my father refused to allow us to read the Sunday caricature sheets in newspapers because these were not important or significant, particularly from a religious standpoint.

I should mention that my small part in the activity of the Community Church of East Lansing involved duplicating sheets for the Sunday morning service, along with other activities, but essentially being an errand boy, had its effect.

Anyhow, the story moves on on my side, again, when my father went to Alma College as president. And as president of Alma College, a Presbyterian institution, he also maintained his close relationships with the church. As we will see, I went to Alma College as a freshman and was there for part of my first year before I went to Germany as a student in Berlin. I had little association with the church in Berlin, except for the American church which was established there as an independent English-speaking church.

Nathan: Was that interdenominational?

Blaisdell: That was interdenominational, in English. One of the principal things that I remember about it is my conversations with the pastor, because I was talking German and he was talking English. The attempt to maintain a friendly conversation was difficult.

Anyhow, that was an interval. When I came back to the USA again I was still in my third year at Alma College. (In my senior year I transferred to Pennsylvania State College.) At that time there came to the city of Alma a "revival" service, which was quite common in the Midwest in those years. The revival service which took place touched the whole town. I've forgotten the preacher, but he was a normal evangelist who

approached the church in a very broad way. Anyhow, it stimulated great interest in the town and in the student body there where the services were held.

Father as President of Alma College

Blaisdell: My father's church activities meant that he got to know the denominational colleges very well, they got to know him, and out of it came an invitation for him to become the president of Alma College, the Presbyterian college, which was located at Alma, Michigan.

Well, Alma, Michigan had one principal industry in addition to the college, and that was the sugar beet sugar refinery. Again, I had a little experience in the beet fields. The soil in that part of Michigan was very suitable for beets, and there were a number of locations, not far from Alma, also with beet sugar factories. They only operated for about three months in the winter, and the beets would be harvested and shipped by rail to the refineries.

Now, what's the difference between beet sugar and cane sugar? They are theoretically the same, chemically, but each of them has a certain residual. With cane sugar it's molasses; the beet sugar molasses is very unpleasant, so the bleaching process is important. That bit of education came to be very useful some years later; it was important.

Part of dad's salary as president of Alma consisted of the free tuition of his children. My freshman year was started at Alma. That freshman year, though, came to be interrupted, because one of the teachers that dad had hired was a German who taught German, and dad was always in the forefront of whatever it was he was trying to do. At that time the Carnegie Foundation established some international scholarships for teachers. It was The Carnegie Teachers'--I'm not sure of the title--of the Carnegie Foundation of New York. Anyhow, it was the teaching section of these contributions. The Carnegie Libraries were part of this activity in which my father was interested. These scholarships were for teachers to do advanced work. They were foreign scholarships, and this teacher received one of these scholarships to go to Germany where he was going to the university.

Oberrealschule in Germany

Blaisdell: My father then asked, "Would it be possible for Tom (me) to go along and go to a German school?" This was not to be the university, because the university system in Germany meant that you first had to finish your gymnasium or your oberrealschule, as it turned out. If you were doing Latin and Greek, you were going to the gymnasium; if you were doing French and German, you went to the oberrealschule. This was advanced education, and dad had this idea that he wanted us to have the best education that we could get.

Money entered into this, of course, which is why I started at Alma, and my sister also started at Alma. As I went to Germany, she moved up so that our old custom of being in the same class passed.

Nathan: Were you eager to go?

Blaisdell: No. No, I was pretty much sent, but I was willing; let's put it this way. I had had four years of German in high school, and I had had one year, from the beginning of the year, in French at Alma. It was spring when I left, having had the freshman first semester, and the beginning of the second, and as I remember it was April when we went. So, it was a railway ride to New York. In fact, we stayed at Hoboken, and our ship left from Hoboken, which was across the bay from New York. We didn't have much time in New York, as I remember. I don't remember anything of that New York visit except Hoboken. We could stay very cheaply in Hoboken. If we had gone to a hotel in New York, it would have been too expensive, and we were watching our pennies.

The ship we were on was "The America" of the Norddeutscher Lloyd. "The America" later became a very famous ship during World War I, because it became the largest troop carrier. At that time there was so much of Germany that was being admired, particularly the education system. Germany was regarded as the outstanding educational system in the world at that time by education people in the U.S. So, it was not surprising that my father should have gone along with the idea that, if that's the best there is, then we will do our best to see that one of the kids at least gets an opportunity. He has got to do his part.

Sure enough, I went to Germany with my friend Paul Fischer. He was going to the university, and I found my way into an oberrealschule, with his help. I now remember that not

only was he going to do university work, but he was going to do some teaching of English in the oberrealschule. So he talked the head of the school into admitting me, and I was put into a place where they thought that I could make a go of it with the German I had. But the writing of essays, again, was a very, very difficult business, because here I was beginning to write in German, and I was beginning to write in French, and I had so little French. The chemistry and the physics and the math, all that was lovely, but I had my troubles there also, particularly in the chemistry. As far as I was concerned, this was very, very good, because I was learning the chemistry of what I had been doing in the mill that last year in high school when I went to work in the iron foundry. I was learning the chemistry of that, and I wasn't aware at the time that this was what it was going to be--it was just the way it happened.

Nathan: Have you any explanation for the way you were as a student of seventeen expected to function in a strange country, without your family?

Blaisdell: Well, one of the things that Paul did was to find me a place to stay where there was a son in the family who was in the same school I was in. He was one grade ahead of me, and very brilliant, very able. His name was Werner Winter and he was the son of a second wife. The first wife had died early, and the father had had no children with her. Werner was a very exceptional young pianist, and I wanted to learn more piano. We succeeded in putting together enough cash, and I took piano lessons. I had already done some at home, but I worked at it, and I worked very hard.

Werner Winter and I did a little sports together. One of the other boys in school and I played tennis together. My other friend was not too much of a sportsman, but we did do a lot of hiking. Hiking became a life-long activity that I have enjoyed ever since.

There were two summers when I went hiking, and then, in other holidays, we would go for a week, or we would go on weekends. Usually this would be with a group of students from the same school, where one of the profs, teachers, would go along with us.

There were other fascinating things that happened. This was the time of Kaiser Wilhelm, and I was studying German history, which was very important in the school, just as American history is important in American schools. I was getting an entirely different slant on Europe from my study of German history than I had gotten from my study of English and

American history where we had studied American history with a background of English history. In English history, the battles against Napoleon were pretty important, the battle of Waterloo was one of the things that I remembered a bit. After all, this was high school history, and it wasn't very much, but enough for me to remember some dates and a few things of that kind.

The summer of 1913 was the anniversary of the battle, as I learned it, of Waterloo. In German, this was known as the battle of Königgrätz. The battle between the French and the British, and the participation at the battle of Waterloo by the German troops--I think it was Von Blücher who was head of the German troops--were part and parcel of the same battle. The British we knew not only from Waterloo, but also from the Spanish campaign, and from the battles at sea.

I also put together, at that time, a very close relationship between those activities and the War of 1812 at home, something that has also been of interest to me on many occasions. Putting these things together was sheer accident, and my knowledge of the War of 1812 tied together with these relationships.

Nathan: In what way did the War of 1812 tie in with this Waterloo period?

Blaisdell: In the War of 1812, the British were part of the battles against Napoleon. The French-British battles of American Independence were being continued in the War of 1812 so that we had France, Napoleon, vis-à-vis the British, and the Germans (with Napoleon's expansion into empire from the French Revolution).

Another very important date that came into being during that era, 1776, was not only the American Revolution, which preceded the French Revolution, but it was also the birth of Adam Smith and economic freedom. That was something different from political freedom in the United States and freedom from Britain, but the two, philosophically, are so intimate. This same freedom concept in England, with Adam Smith, and America, coming out of France, in 1776; the beginning of the French philosophy of freedom; and the tying-in of the French philosophy of freedom with the amendments of the Constitution in the United States, all this was a great jumble, as far as I was concerned. It didn't get sorted out until much later, but it was all beginning to filter in.

There was to be a great celebration of the battle of Waterloo, in other words great Königgrätz, and the whole of

Europe was going to celebrate. Why? Because they were celebrating the overthrow of Napoleon. With the overthrow of Napoleon came the, what shall we call it, the rebirth of all of the royalties of Europe.

Nathan: Of the nationalistic view?

Blaisdell: The nationalistic, and particularly, the royal regimes. It was the German royal house that was being established. It was national, but it was also royal. It was royal in England, and it was royal in the houses of the Scandinavian countries, and in Italy, and in Austria-Hungary.

We are on the edge of World War I, but the celebration in 1913 was for freedom from Napoleon. The struggle between Germany and France was to come. The Czar of Russia, the Emperor of Austria-Hungary, the British Emperor, and the Scandinavians--they all came to Berlin for the celebration in 1913. And I marched with the German school boys (we all had cotton-denim uniforms) in the parade, in which the leaders were the crowned heads of the European dynasties, for the last time.

I didn't understand it at that time, but as the years went by, and I began to get into other studies and other varieties of activity, it began to have more and more meaning.

Switching back now, for a moment, to the religious side of this, of course dad and mother insisted that "when you get to Germany, you will have a different type of religious experience. Your religious ideals are going to be different, because you are going to have a church, a state church, which is very important in Europe. Also, you are going to have another set of moral standards, particularly on the sexual side. This is going to be new to you. You are not going to understand it. At least you should know what it is going to be, and what you learn may be helpful." This was kind of interesting, as I look back now, almost over a hundred years. Anyhow, all of this fitted into the religious ideals, the religious and moral sensibilities, sensitivities that I had picked up at home and in school, and from the experience with dad and mother in the establishment of the church in East Lansing.

Politics at Home, and the Progressives' Role

Blaisdell: I want to revert also to the East Lansing experience, because there was one political item here that also became very significant to me later for a number of different reasons.

Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson were on the border of my consciousness. Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt--remember, he was the vice-president who became president, and that leadership carried the name of Progressive. The Progressive movement in American politics was a Republican progressiveness, not a Democratic. The progressive Democratic idea stems from another source, but in this Roosevelt and Wilson era, there was so much in common between the Republicans and Wilson. The split within the Republican Party enabled Wilson to be elected. At the same time, there was another split, and a powerful figure on that Republican Progressive side was the Governor of Wisconsin.

Nathan: La Follette?

Blaisdell: Philip La Follette. La Follette was one of the great leaders of Progressive Republicanism, and there was another leader of Progressive Republicanism, who was Governor of the State of Michigan. His name was Chase Osborn. He made his fortune in the discovery of copper in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, but he was progressive in the terms of Progressives of that era, and he was a Republican. La Follette had announced his candidacy for the presidency, because he was going to run as a Liberal Republican. My father's interest in Prohibition didn't prevent him from having a variety of progressive streaks, which came out of his religious progressivism, and he said to me one day, "La Follette is going to be making a speech in Lansing" (I don't remember the date, it's of no importance really. It only became important much, much later.).

The experience was very interesting, because he was going to make a speech at noon; he was going to speak in the high school auditorium. So there was quite a round-up, and the governor of the state was going to introduce him. I was there. Came time for him to speak, and he didn't arrive. Fifteen minutes, twenty minutes, half an hour, he didn't arrive, and his manager came on to the stage and said, "Please don't leave, because Governor La Follette will be here very, very shortly, and I promise Governor Chase Osborn will introduce him."

Anyhow, the time went on, and he still didn't come, and it was three quarters, maybe an hour, when Osborn came on to

the stage and said, "I can't tell you how sorry I am that Governor La Follette hasn't arrived, but since, apparently, he is not going to appear, I have only one alternative: I shall make the introductory speech that I intended to make anyway." And he started his favorable remarks about what a lovely person--"and La Follette is one of the great Liberal Republicans and liberal governors and leaders of the liberal thinking in the United States, and if he wanted to really promote liberalism and the Liberal Republican movement, his most potent and significant decision would be to withdraw his candidacy for president in favor of Theodore Roosevelt." It was the making of Theodore Roosevelt.

Nathan: And La Follette never appeared?

Blaisdell: La Follette never appeared.

Nathan: What a story, what a wonderful story.

Blaisdell: (Chuckle) I hope my memory is reasonably accurate. At least it seems accurate to me.

Back to Alma College, on to Penn State (1916)

Nathan: So, let's see--you had spoken about Alma College, and from there you went to Pennsylvania State College in 1916?

Blaisdell: Well, from there I went to Germany.

Nathan: Oh, right, from Alma to that year in Germany.

Blaisdell: Yes.

Nathan: And then when you came back--

Blaisdell: I returned to Alma for a year. Alma College was a four-year college granting a bachelor's degree. It was a Presbyterian college. My father was the president for three years. I spent that one year when I came back from Germany at Alma, and I played football while I was there. We were beaten by Notre Dame, which wasn't surprising, because we were very much a practice team for them.

The next year father was going to Penn State as dean, and while he was there it meant that I could finish college there with a minimum of tuition. So it made a good reason to change.

I'll never forget, though, that final year at Alma, because it was a very rich year. I did more French; I read some German; I reverted to some Latin, which I also enjoyed tremendously; and above everything else, I had a full year of piano. It was carrying on where I had left off in Germany, and it was an opportunity which I have never regretted, but unfortunately have never been able to continue.

At Penn State I had the "requirements" to meet first. They included a year of so-called military science. The year of military science consisted almost exclusively of stories by a retired sergeant who knew how to "form fours" and beyond that, practically nothing. It was nothing but talk so that my training in military science had very little science in it. But at least it filled the requirement. Sometimes in college, even in the university, you fill requirements, whether you learn anything or not. But I was learning things. I learned to play baseball; I never got into football at that time.

At Penn State I took one of the finest courses in advanced chemistry that I can imagine. We had a professor named Pond, popularly known as "Swampy." He was one of the finest lecturers and one of the clearest expositors that one can hope for. That course in chemistry, "The Chemistry of the Carbon Compounds," has stood by me over and over and over again. I can't believe the use that it was to me years later, when I was working in Washington with the War Production Board. The chemistry that I learned from Professor Pond was just there, useful all the time. It enabled me to talk intelligently with any number of the people who were working on industrial projects that were associated with a particular assignment.

That course was the origin of my grasp of chemistry. There had been a lot of requirements in school, but this was one of those things that was really worthwhile. During the time at Penn State there was plenty of language, and some history. Interestingly enough, the history became the next step forward for me.

II INDIA (1916-1919)

Teaching History at Ewing Christian College

Blaisdell: It was almost accidental; that first year after I graduated, I fell into the opportunity of going to India. At Ewing Christian College, I thought I was going to teach English. When I got there it was perfectly clear that all of the students were very fluent in English, much more fluent than I was in Hindustani, which I had never studied at all.

It became clear that my lecturing was to be in English history. Fortunately, I had had some very good courses in history, both American and English, and I was able to carry on that first year without any difficulty.

The second year was a different story, because in the middle of the summer, the president of the college said, "Tom, I have an additional assignment for you for the coming fall. We are losing our professor of Moghul history, and I want you to take the course." I said, "But who were the Moghuls?" Well, I very soon learned. The essence of Moghul history during the last two centuries turned on the history of the East India Company, and the relationships between the two.

It wasn't until the middle of the 19th century that it officially became the British Indian Empire. British "supervision" of the East India Company working with the Moghul Empire in India took only a sum total of three or four hours a year in the British parliament, which fundamentally approved of what had been done. In essence, one might say the British East India Company ran itself.

The Moghul Empire*

The demand on me was great since I was just ignorant. So I took the easiest road I could by reading in the library facilities as much as I could of British-Indian literature. I hate to think what I did for the British story of the relations of the East India Company and its associations with the Moghul Empire. These were a fascinating confusion of the relations between the corporate traders, and what were the not too different government entities made up of not dissimilar European "family" empires, e.g., that of Queen Elizabeth I of Great Britain or that of Louis XIV of France.

Had I been more astute I would have remembered more of the early American colonial history. I should have remembered 1492 and the early settlements of the various colonies of the French, Dutch, and British in North America as well as Spain and Portugal in Latin America. Likewise I should have remembered the struggle of the European corporate companies in the Far East. The British East India Company was matched in the East Indies by the same type of company colonies who were establishing themselves in the Americas. (It was not surprising that the American natives were known as "Indians.") In addition, the Portuguese and Spanish as well as the French and Dutch were building, as far as they were able, their far eastern shipping empires.

Thus I should have been aware of the struggle not only of the Europeans to dominate the India area, but I should have been sensitive to the fact that as the Europeans were struggling to control in India, the Moghuls coming from Persia and Afghanistan had been struggling to establish themselves approximately a hundred years earlier. Just as the European great royal families were anxious to establish themselves with their commercial companies, the Moghul families had done the same. Instead of bringing Christianity with them, they [the Moghuls] had brought the ways of Islam as part of their culture. In India, Islam was to be challenged by the cultures of India and Europe. Likewise, the Indian religions had moved eastward along with Buddhism to become part of the cultures of Southeastern Asia and China and Japan.

*Professor Blaisdell added these two sets of written comments after reviewing the transcript of his interviews.

As I think back, this is where I should have been. But I knew only in the vaguest sort of way of the struggles of Europe through the imperial era, both East and West. Just as the troops of the European companies struggled to develop the colonial position against each other, they also were prepared to use their resources as military aids to help native royal families. Thus in the spreading position of the British East Indian Company, it found ways to support the Moghul families as they fought to support their own cultural, landed, and governmental stature.

In the early 18th century there was a decline in Moghul power not only against the colonial companies but also against other royal Indian powers. There was continual governmental and economic growth of the British company's power. As Moghul power declined, that of the Marathas grew. In a sense one can say that just as Western European royal families were struggling in Europe, their royal native counterparts fought in the colonies. From the Moghul period, the British East India Company's stature was to grow with military as well as other governmental support and religious conflicts until India became part of the Empire of Empress Victoria.

India Piece

In the mid-16th century the Moghuls came to India, in which a heavily landlord and peasant society had already established itself. Its Vedic religious sources were heavily philosophical and multi-theistic. By contrast, the Moghuls, although also landlords, differed sharply from the beliefs of the Hindus. The Moghuls were predominantly established in their monotheistic Moslem faith. As their government developed, the newcomers' government and faith were intimately related, as dictated by the Koran.

Facing these two cultural entities, the British East India Company (BEIC), incorporated in 1600 by the British Parliament, found that its organic commercial interests brought with it a culture heavily freighted with British landlord plus commercial values of that era. The struggle between the BEIC, the Hindu-Indian society, and the Moslem Moghuls was to continue for many decades. Since the BEIC was essentially a trading and commercial organization, finding its way in a basically

landlords and peasants society, the impact on the latter was great. Over the years, as the trading company found itself increasingly involved in all phases of government, it became accepted practice to hire mercenary Moghul or other Indian troops, led by British officers.

In view of the dominance of agriculture in the economic sphere, accepted ways of holding and using land became a dominant problem. In this, both the Hindu and Moghul cultures found themselves at odds with the British legal system. Frequently the inter-cultural frictions of the situation exploded in military struggles. In view of its military superiority, the BEIC took over more and more governmental functions, with the concomitant weakening of the two great pre-existing cultures. Under the Moghuls, forts, mosques and other architectural features were recognized as part of the cultural contribution to the continent's richness.

In 1857 the mercenary military forces mutinied unsuccessfully against British control. Not long thereafter, the British Government took control of the BEIC and added India to the British Empire and declared Queen Victoria to be Empress of India. As the concept of nationalism slowly spread from Western Europe to the rest of the world, nationalism slowly evolved in India. This process culminated, for India, in 1948 when Indian and Pakistan national independence was recognized.

My own initial observation post for watching this process was in Allahabad, India, where I struggled with teaching British and Moghul history from 1917-1919. At that time, in 1917, I was privileged to attend a convention of the Indian National Congress. This gathering took place in a large tent in which several thousand people assembled to voice their complaints against the British Government and to emphasize Indian interests. Not surprisingly, I was tremendously impressed by this assemblage.

In 1948, the nationalism claimed by both the Hindus and Moslems was recognized by the British in the establishment of the new nations of Hindu India and Moslem Pakistan.

Indian Civil Service .

Blaisdell: The growth of the British East India Company marked the beginnings of the Indian Civil Service; the service required

passing examinations in England, both in language and other important subjects necessary for the Civil Service. The Indian Civil Service became a distinguished body, and the model for a great many other civil services around the world in different parts of the British Empire.

Nathan: So if an Indian wanted to serve, would he have to go to England to take the test?

Blaisdell: Exactly. He would have to go to England to take the examination. Any Indian who had the resources was perfectly eligible to take the examination, and some Indians did just that. Not many, but a few Indians did because the positions were not very many. Only a few of those who took the examinations passed. So if there were prejudices against the Indians, they could be displayed very easily without raising any questions. And there was discrimination.

There was less discrimination against Indian students of medicine who took the medical examinations of the Indian Medical Service. So as a result there were a number of very able English-trained Indian physicians. There were also a number in other professional services on the technical side, and they were trained both in India and in England, but the most esteemed top service was the Indian Civil Service.

Subordinate positions were in large number because the British East India Company had found the necessity of training clerks, and the clerical service was trained in India, so that there were many, many Indian, what we would call "civil servants". However these were not official members of the "Indian Civil Service". They were simply hired by the Indian government for the East Indian Company. This had started very early in the services of the East India Company.

Trading Companies and the East Indian Trade

Thinking back to our discussion of the development of the British East India Company, the emphasis was on the discovery of the use of the company in foreign trade throughout Western

*Professor Blaisdell added these written comments after reviewing the transcript of his interviews.

Europe. Portugal, Spain, and Holland became aware of the potentiality of the Far Eastern trade, which had formerly been part of the life of the Mediterranean and the life--and particularly the movement of trade--that moved through Venice and Genoa in Italy.

France's Mediterranean cities also were party to the trade, so it was not surprising that her interest showed up in the new transAtlantic and Far Eastern trade. In the 17th century, this was known as the East Indian trade. As the struggle went on between the shipping and commercial companies of the different nationalist kings and queens of Western Europe, all were interested.

In America, the French companies as well as the British and Dutch struggled with competing ventures. In North America, this is well understood, as when Washington made his youthful journey to the West. The French traders participated both in the North and in the South, and the Portuguese and Spanish traders and priests made their way in Latin America.

Languages, Script, Transport, and Living Arrangements

Blaisdell: My education continued, though I had to begin as a student of Hindi. Here again we have an interesting overlap between the Moslem and the Hindu cultures, in language. The language that came to be known as Hindustani was a combination of Hindi and Arabic. You can write it either in Arabic or Hindi using different letters, Vedic lettering or Arabic script. The Arabic was known as Urdu and was written in Arabic script. Hindi was written in Hindi or Vedic script, which came from ancient Sanskrit. This is part of the struggle between Islam and the Hindus. Islam wants the language to be written in Arabic, and the Indians want the language in their native script.

The Hindustani language was generally spoken in Northern India and in the Indian Civil Service. The numerous languages of the Indian subcontinent that were spoken in the different parts of India--maybe 14 or 15 major ones--were not overridden by Hindustani or Hindi.

The fact of the different languages was very easily noted because on every railway station or every railway coach the rules and regulations and all were written in the different

languages. There might be as many as 12, 13, 14 languages in which all the rules were written, because people needed to understand them; wherever the railway cars went, it was important that the people understood.

Nathan: Was English one of them?

Blaisdell: Oh yes, English was always printed as one of them. Another thing that was noticeable, particularly, was the fact that there were different classes on the transportation system. Not only first class, second class, but also third class and fourth class. Fourth class was used by the great mass of people. The distinctions were very carefully noted, because in first class there was no difference--Indians or English, whites, could use first class, no question, second class also. But in third and fourth classes, Indians and whites were separated, so that there was third-class white and third-class Indian, fourth-class white and fourth-class Indian.

Much of my own travel was done fourth-class white. Relatively few whites were traveling fourth class. But those who had little income took advantage of that particular option. Anyway, these things were among those that were relatively easy to learn. Within a town, it was standard to use Indian civil transportation, which usually consisted of a two-wheeled cart and either a buffalo or a pony that pulled the cart. But that was high-class travel for the average person.

If you insisted on having a four-wheeled cart, that was much more expensive and, of course, indicated very clearly that you were someone of an entirely different financial status. Well-paid people usually owned their own four-wheeled carriages with drivers. There were no motorcars. In those days the motorcar was just nonexistent. Even in the West motorcars were yet to come.

The bicycle was also a substitute which everyone used. The bicycle was so handy. You went "into town" on your bicycle. You went from one part of town to another part; always the bicycle was it. Everybody used bicycles. In fact I guess, even today, it's still much the same way, even though motorcars are available.

My own position in the college included that of hostel warden. You lived in hostels, not in dormitories. The wardens each had a living room/sleeping room, a dressing room, and a bathroom. Of course, there was no such thing as plumbing in the bathroom. Toilet facilities consisted of toilet bowls which were cleaned every day by a servant who came and cleaned

the facilities. The water was provided in a terra-cotta jar with a tin bucket. The tin bucket enabled you to have a very satisfactory so-called shower-bath. But other than that, the water ran out on the ground where it ran into the sewer line. The facilities for students were different. They had running water shower-baths in the shower facility that was available to all the students outside the dormitories. These facilities were comfortable.

One of the things that you learned very quickly was that your dresser was set on tall legs for a purpose. It was necessary to put the dresser legs in little water-holding cups, otherwise the white ants climbed into everything. During vacations you would suspend a trunk from the ceiling rather than placing it on the floor, to keep your things away from the white ants.

White ants wouldn't touch certain kinds of wood, but they would make plaster passageways which stand up from the floor to get to the things that they could eat. So you just learned never to leave anything around which can be reached by the white ants. This was very, very important. You had to be careful about your papers, because if they were left anywhere, they were quickly devoured. The same was true of books, so your bookcase had to be carefully shielded. These things were the everyday affairs that we lived with.

Nathan: Did you have servants who helped you?

Blaisdell: Oh yes. I had a personal servant. The personal servant--his name was Ram Dass--was a lovely individual. He spoke no English, so you learned your Hindi or Hindustani, at least the elements, so that your conversation could be understood. He soon learned what you had and what you didn't have, and he was careful that the washing water was always in the washroom, that the room was kept clean.

Learning the customs was difficult, because for us who are accustomed to take care of ourselves, the idea of a personal servant is just nonexistent. The personal servant didn't do the washing. He took the clothing to the washerman who did the washing and the ironing; he was a different caste. In this way, the personal servant took his various chores for his master to whoever was needed to take care of those things. If there was any repair of clothing, this went to a tailor who took care of repairing and mending clothing only--not washing. Every small service was separate.

The personal servant went with you when you went out for dinner, wherever you went. He saw to it that you were served. If you went to a dinner party, there would be a half dozen different servants there from a half dozen different places. The personal servants of the house where you went for dinner would be available. They took care of the home service, not the service for the guests. The guests were expected to provide care for themselves.

In the hostel, there were also eating facilities. But the eating facilities, again, needed cooks, and they needed servants, waiters--again, separate--and so forth.

The hostel was one of the few places where Hindus, Moslems, Christians, or non-caste students would eat together. Normally, caste separated people in the eating facilities. There were some students who would not eat in the same facilities where there were persons of other castes or religions. Caste origins were noted; caste performances were still pretty common and very definitely observed whenever students went home. At home, Hindu caste and Moslem religious eating customs were also observed. If I ate in the dormitory dining room, as from time to time I did, I would always use the custom of eating with the bare hand, where the food was put in the serving utensil and then each person helped himself. That was the custom, and that was what we did. So these things were all to be learned. For a native white boy from a college in the United States, you can indeed be sure I learned a lot.

Nathan: Right. Could I ask you about the school?

Blaisdell: Please.

Nathan: This was Ewing Christian College of the University of Allahabad?

Blaisdell: That's right.

Nathan: I wondered whether there was any effort to educate the Indians to the ways of Ewing Christian College? Was there any attempt at changing their ways? Any criticism of the caste system?

Blaisdell: No. No; strictly speaking, we were guests in India.

Nathan: Invited--

Blaisdell: Well, it was the custom of the college that we were guests in India, and we followed Indian custom as best we could. Now there were, of course, differences. An American family, an

English family, or a non-Indian family, would follow the customs of home; that is, their own western way. That is, except for the use of servants.

In the use of servants we adopted Indian customs--among them the Indian custom that a servant had to be clothed at the master's cost. This wasn't exorbitant, because the clothes consisted almost exclusively of cotton cloth, either the wraparound or the cotton coat or cotton trousers. Between Hindus and Moslems there were different customs with regard to clothing. A servant went barefoot or wore tennis shoes. Being barefoot was very, very common. If you could afford shoes that was nice, but shoes were expensive.

In the winter very seldom was there freezing weather, but there was cold weather on the plains where we were living. Part of the wardrobe to be furnished consisted of a heavy woolen coat that would be worn over the other cotton clothing. Also the servant was entitled to a blanket. All the time when I was there living in the hostel I was on the first floor, and there was a stairway that went up in a hallway just behind the servants' door, which was in the rear of the room. At night my servant slept on the floor with his blanket. That was it. That was standard. This was difficult for me to learn, but I learned. Not only was there no complaint, but this was the way that servants were cared for.

The average student slept on a bed with a rope mattress. The jute rope that was used in making the mattress was something that could not be eaten by the ants. They didn't like it, so that was reasonable. The thing that was almost as bad in those days was bedbugs, and bedbugs lived in the mattresses. We had our problems. We learned the ways of taking care of these vermin.

Nathan: Yes. What were your duties as a warden? Did you have any?

Blaisdell: Technically, my duties were simply to see that order was preserved. There was an opportunity for the study of the Bible, if anyone was willing or interested. That was the Sunday opportunity. But other than that, the extent of religious observance was zero. So that even though the senior professors were all missionaries in the college, and they went to the church (which was a Scotch Presbyterian, rather than an American Presbyterian), there was little religious observance by students. The principal of the college was an ordained Scotch Presbyterian minister, and he preached regularly in the church. There, of course, Indians were welcome, but very few would come. There was a Presbyterian church on campus. The

campus had housing for both Indian professors and visiting missionary professors. Those houses were both Indian style and a few western style for western missionaries. They were all on the same campus.

In the middle of the campus was a great banyan tree. The banyan tree is fascinating, with the central trunk, and then there will be streamers dropping from the limbs and rooting in the soil. In that great banyan tree the rootings were always kept cut back so that they never really took root permanently. It was right next to the football field. Football was the most popular sport that was available. Those of us who enjoyed it played football with the students. As far as I was concerned, I learned to play and enjoyed it tremendously, but my usual exercise was tennis. There were courts on campus for both a few Indian professors who enjoyed tennis and others of us who also enjoyed tennis.

These were the two sports. Students very rarely played tennis; they always played football. Wearing football shoes was practically unknown. For those of us who were accustomed to shoes, we always wore football shoes--students, never. Their feet were tough. So that was part of their custom.

Sectarian Colleges, and Jobs for Graduates

Blaisdell: The library facilities were not overwhelming, but adequate. The courses were prescribed by the university so that our teaching and use of textbooks and all were prescribed for the preparation of examinations that were to be taken for the University. In this sense, you could say that the library facilities were adequate for college purposes, but not for research. Research was an entirely different sort of procedure; if you were going to do research, you did it at the university, not at the colleges. Occasionally the professors in the colleges were also research-minded, and were associated with some professor at the university.

Just as there was a Christian college, of which Ewing College was one, there were also Moslem, Mohammedan, and Hindu colleges, with very specific university-related requirements. The difference essentially was that all our requirements were in English. Now with some of the non-English colleges the examinations would be in the language of the college, but in most cases, the university requirement included examinations in English.

Nathan: When your students were graduated did many go on to the university?

Blaisdell: Very limited numbers went to the university. Usually they would go for a job; a lot of them in government. The railroads also were hiring. There were also technical schools where the arts were not the primary training, but the sciences and the technical skills were major. There was some agriculture being taught. In fact, associated with Ewing College was also an agricultural college, something quite unique in India at that time. It's my understanding that today agricultural colleges are very widespread in India. This was one of the things which was yet to happen. At that time an agricultural college was quite unusual.

Britain in India and the US in the Philippines

Blaisdell: I have often tried to remember my reactions in working in India. This is partly due, I'm sure, to the fact that I had been ill, and my reactions were very definitely how to get well, rather than pondering on academic analyses or historical problems which might have interested me had I been more of an academician. But I was interested in changes which were going on, because I think I shared the prejudices of the average American: namely, the British government was essential for India, and while there were countermovements within India, the attitudes of a few educated, well-trained Indians--really, the British knew best.

I'm sure this attitude was strengthened by the fact that we were in the middle of World War I. My sympathies in World War I were--particularly with President Wilson and his tremendously effective public relations activity--pro-British, as contrasted with German. This sympathetic attitude toward war was accentuated by the fact that there was mobilization within India--British subjects and then later the British armed services, which means Indian mercenary troops, who were trained and on alert. The fact was that I, too, had to answer the call for registration under the draft in the USA.

At the time my feelings were, "How does an American living in India do his best for the war effort?" And since there was no direct activity on the part particularly of the American citizens, I offered my services to the US YMCA. It was serving the British troops in what later became activities for the

military of the United States through the USO. It was something like the other religious services in the military. There was some objection to the role of the religious services in the military, so the USO and the YMCA took on some of these social services.

I assumed that I would be assigned to the activities in the Middle East, and was ready to accept that assignment when I was taken ill with typhoid. Of course, this took me out of any activity for several months.

I was prepared to accept, I think like other Americans at that time, that the United States as a colonial power in the Philippines was demonstrating the differences between the United States as a colonial power and the British as a colonial power. As I think back on it, there was some justification for this, particularly in the area of educational reform in the Philippines, and the limited educational activity in India. One of the few speeches I made was to a university audience regarding "The United States in the Philippines" as contrasted with the British in India.

The educational training--I think I've mentioned it before--was for clerical services within the government in India, and for the highest level training of Indians who were anxious to move into the higher levels of the civil service. They were trained in England. It's important to remember that at that time there were no general Indian educational services for the vast mass of the population. So this contrast was very much in my own mind. I knew little about the Philippines, really. In fact, I knew so little that I did some reading trying to learn more, spiced largely by the fact that I was thinking in comparative terms, and the differences that it seemed to me there were between the two forms of colonial development.

I was also interested in the fact that the political movement within India was a very prominent story in the newspapers. The English language newspapers one might call official newspapers, although they were not technically official. Yet their reporting was essentially that of the government. They reported fully the movement, particularly that of the Indian National Congress, which was voluntarily organized, and indicative of the nationalist thinking within the well-to-do population.

Nathan: Would this be the Gandhi movement?

Blaisdell: At the time (1920s), Gandhi had just arrived in India from South Africa. So as a national leader, Gandhi had not yet become particularly noticed. People knew of Gandhi, but there was little emphasis on nonviolent protest. Gandhi was preaching a doctrine of nonviolence, and I think the great mass of Indian nationalists thought mostly in terms that revolution would probably have to be violent. But there was no particular evidence of this.

Within the military services in India, that is, the British organized military services, there were some signs of unhappiness. These signs in one sense were indicative of the organization of the military services in which groups from Moslem communities and from various types of Hindu communities were brigaded together. There was nothing in the way of a unified cultural military service. The varied cultures were maintained independently. This was essential, both from the standpoint of food as well as other ritual performances within the services as well as outside--something which, certainly in the American services, if I had ever heard of or knew anything about, would have seemed very strange. In other words, the ability to think in terms of one nation, as contrasted with a whole series of cultural entities within a nation, was a contrast which was very apparent to me at the time. This is not something that I thought about in later years, but one of the questions that was in my mind and I was wondering about at the time.

There was one incident in this connection--I don't remember as to timing whether it happened just before I left India, or whether it happened shortly after I left India (I think it was in 1919). It became one of the great significant actions within India, because on command of a British general, acting against some of his troops that were in rebellion, there was a shutdown known as the Massacre of Jallianwallah Bagh. This became a symbol of Indian revolt that was pyramided by Indian national forces against the British as the years went on. It was always something to which you could refer--the murders of Jallianwallah Bagh by British order. It's one of those things that I suppose naturally I should remember, because it was widely publicized in the western newspapers.

Training for the Elite, and Construction by Hand Labor

Blaisdell: On the economic side, here again I think I mentioned previously the lack of what I regarded as essential agricultural economic training.

Nathan: This is for Indians?

Blaisdell: For Indians. I just mentioned what I regarded as essential training in the basics for everyone. There were no general public schools--just schools for a few elite, not for the general public. The same kind of "token" thinking in economic terms was similar to the elite training received at Oxford and Cambridge, only here the elite training was provided by the Indian universities. There was training in all of the major technical and many scientific skills. My doctor during my illness was a Hindu with western training. This was true generally, that there were technicians who were scientifically trained.

In later years when I visited India--in the late fifties, going back after I came to Berkeley--one of the things in which I was very much interested was water development, partly from my California experience. I went to visit one of the great dams built by the Indians with technical assistance from the United States. This was in Jawaharlal Nehru's premiership. The chief consulting engineer was a very distinguished American engineer. I visited him in his moveable dwelling, a trailer.

He lived there six months of the year. His contract was six months on, six months off. Prime Minister Nehru was very bitterly criticized by his own public services because he was paying \$100,000 a year to an American consultant. To which Nehru's answer was, "I know, I'm paying him twice what I would pay our own services, but it's worth it. He has saved us so many times in our own costs, and his contribution as a highly skilled person who knew what he was doing under difficult circumstances has well been worth it." As one thinks about it, there is undoubtedly a degree of truth in Nehru's reaction, because the public utility and public construction services of India are very good, but they were utilizing a great deal of hand labor where machine labor was in normal use in the United States, particularly in the construction of large-scale dams.

In actuality one saw, working side-by-side, women carrying baskets of dirt on their heads in moving dirt for the dam building, alongside of steam shovels, and power equipment. It was the kind of thing of which anyone who has followed construction activities in the developing world is fully aware.

Putting these things together, making both kinds of these activities productive, was very important. It has resulted, very largely, from the introduction of western technologies, construction technologies, into different cultures.

Indian National Congress, and Leadership

Blaisdell: On the political representation side, we had come to the stage of the appointment of a Governor-General's council. It was an appointed council of presumed representative, Indian professional people who were politically significant. Among them, of course, were people who were representative of the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress met annually at a large convention in New Delhi, and one of those winters when I was there, I was sufficiently interested to want to see one of these conventions as they were carried on. And so I went. And I've forgotten how I succeeded, but I did get a ticket of admission. For ten days I just sat through and listened to what was going on, much like any political convention anywhere in the world.

Nathan: Was it in English?

Blaisdell: Largely in English, because people from all over India were there, and their common language was English. So from my standpoint it was a great advantage.

Nathan: Were there women taking part as well as men?

Blaisdell: I don't remember that I saw any women. This probably was a lack of sensitivity on my part as to whether women were participants or not in political activities. Obviously some must have been, since Nehru's daughter [Indira Gandhi] was later to become a very significant and important figure in the development of Indian political life. So I suppose that one would have to say that certainly women were being trained, just as Indian lawyers were going to London and becoming barristers in the English system.

In fact, Nehru's father, Motilal Nehru, was a very distinguished Indian lawyer who lived in Allahabad. Actually, there were two notable estates in the city of Allahabad. One was the residence of the governor of the province, an English representative. The other was the home of Motilal Nehru, one of the highest-paid lawyers in India, a home fully equal to that of the governor.

Items like this kept coming to mind, where British-trained Indians were fully the equal, on technical grounds, of the English representatives. The few who were appointed to the Indian Civil Service, were fully the equal of the British Civil Service. In one sense it can be said that the British-trained Indian Civil Service established the basis for the continuation

of the Indian Civil Service after Independence in 1948, a very significant bit of political insight--because politically, it was the Indian Civil Service that ran India.

Nathan: You were saying that after Independence, the political weight shifted?

Blaisdell: Definitely. In fact, in those last years after I had left India there were many moves made toward determining how India was going to be governed once the hand of London was removed. It resulted, after Independence, in the building of some very beautiful government buildings that had been non-existent, of course, during this period. Architecture had not yet represented politics, except in the sense that a small group of people were responsible for large government; and the centralization of political authority rested in the hands of a very small group.

I think it must also be remembered, politically, that while official authority rested with the British Raj, effective government depended on the willing acceptance by people who in turn were recognized by the general public as significant and competent, able, native representatives. In a native state the chief ruler would be accepted by his people as well as the British resident advisor. There must have been an acceptance by the well-to-do of British government, even though there would be jealousy as to whether full recognition was being given to native representation, in what we think of as democratic representation. These were not elected representatives. These were people who had established their positions technically as lawyers, as owners of land, as owners of other productive activities, heads of the railroad, and so on. They accepted British legal rule.

Again, remembering from years and years later--during World War II President Franklin D. Roosevelt's representative in India was bitterly criticized in Washington for his friendly comments about Indian would-be self-rule. The fact that President Roosevelt, in his own comments, gave great recognition to the development of independent colonial countries during World War II is often forgotten. American support for Indian independence, was--I was about to say was semi-official, which I think is probably a fair description--yes, the President was much interested in this happening.

The same thing can be said of President Roosevelt's attitude towards the ruling dynasties in the Middle East, like the Saudis. His return coming through the Persian Gulf from a meeting with the Saudi chiefs was the perfect example of his

understanding of what was going on unofficially. This was also true of his support for native governments. This occurred particularly among the well-to-do, which, shall we say, has been characteristic of most of the native movements, post-World War II.

Nathan: The well-to-do were the leaders in the native movements?

Blaisdell: Yes. They were the leadership. In some senses, Gandhi was a great exception: through his leadership poverty became recognized as politically important, something that is not particularly recognized in American political thinking. This, however, was not part of my thinking either in those days.

I wonder about my acquaintance with various social groups, British, Hindus, Moslems, Americans, missionaries. I knew a few missionaries, although from time to time when I was traveling I followed an old Indian custom of stopping and living with a mission group, a mission family, since there were no public hotels or public residences where foreigners were accepted.

My acquaintance in India was extremely limited; it was limited to the Hindu friends who were teaching in the college and Moslem friends teaching in the college. General travel, also the ability to make contact directly with Indians, was difficult. The communities were separated, and the times when I felt that I had had fairly close association with Indian people was when I visited missionary homes. I did get to know a few missionary friends very well through the mission schools.

Schools for Religious Training, and Nonreligious Political Control

Nathan: Were these general schools, not highly specialized?

Blaisdell: Well, they would be primary mission schools since there were no other schools. Eventually, presumably, the mission schools would be producing Christian ministers, as part of their basic objective. The training had to begin with the simple basics, and this was particularly true because most religious organizations also had their own training schools. That is, there were training schools for the Hindu or the Moslem religious leaders, and they were very widespread. This was true not only in India but elsewhere. These were religious

training schools as contrasted with what we would regard as a secular education.

There was a distinction between general public education and the training of mullahs, the training of Indian priests, that came within the religious community, and the recognition in India of the Brahmin caste, which was a caste presumably of priestly stature. And then there was the separate training of the other religious castes, military, the commercial, and the non-caste, the lowest of the low. It was among this last group that the mission schools became very prominent. This was true not only of the American missions, but it was true also of missions from other countries, particularly the United Kingdom. This place of the Christian mission, again, continued to this day, so that Christian representatives within the political movement very largely came from the lower castes. There were exceptions to this, but by and large I think this was still true.

One of the interesting carryovers into the present day--the continuing attempt to maintain a secular political entity in Indian politics--is notable. In fact, I have the suspicion that the influence of American politics and political thinking within India has had something to do with this, although I wouldn't claim too much.

It is my belief that Supreme Court Justice William Douglas was influential in discussions with Indians at that time, and had considerable to do with drafting the Indian Constitution.

Nathan: Are you suggesting that they did want the religious element, and also that they wanted a secular element?

Blaisdell: I'm suggesting that they wanted a nonreligious, political control over all, because of the multireligious, cultural entities which had to live together. In fact, in this sense it's identical with the United States and its definition of nonreligious politics. Of course, American politics is stuffed full of religion, but there is some similarity here.

Nathan: So the Indians wanted to separate church and state?

Blaisdell: You can't agree on which church, so you say no church. In fact, my current reading from Indian reporting at the present time is a discussion literally of, "Are we losing too much of the nonreligious quality in Indian politics?" Indian politics is stuffed full of religious characteristics, just as American politics is, although we have nonestablishment churches.

Sharecropping, Slavery, Apartheid, Discrimination: India and the US

Blaisdell: The Indian systems of cultivation were suited to self-sufficient and family-organized agriculture. That was very general. It was not what we would think of as farming or ranch-style agriculture. It was definitely oriented to self-sufficiency and the family unit; and at best, the self-sufficiency of a village as contrasted with the self-sufficiency of a family.

If you had a family that wanted to be self-sufficient, they were immediately hiring servants to do their agriculture, to do their farming, and to do their marketing and gardening. The employees were taking care of not only the family for whom they were working, but themselves, too. Their farming would be of the style that we have been accustomed to calling "share" farming. And of course, there was so much share farming in the United States.

Nathan: That would be like sharecropping?

Blaisdell: Sharecropping, exactly. But if one wants to think in terms of anything large scale at that time, then one must look at the plantation. On the plantation in the USA, slavery had become common. If you were not using slavery, then you were a share farmer.

Our founding fathers of the Constitution had their slaves. Residents in cities also had slaves, even in the North, but there was no slavery in India. Slavery had essentially passed with the British in the early 1800s. In fact, the slave trade was abolished in England in 1833, as I remember, so that slavery existed in the United States later than in India.

I suppose today in thinking of sharecropping as it was then, we would talk about apartheid. Apartheid replaced slavery in the United States, but we don't call it that; we didn't call it that. It was largely sharecropping. But the separation of white and Black was just as serious here as in South Africa. This continued, of course, in the United States after the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. It wasn't until a hundred years after the Civil War that we began to take the 14th Amendment seriously.

Nathan: Did the experience in India affect your understanding in later years?

Blaisdell: Definitely. My comprehension of servant-master relationships in India came to life when I went to Washington, because in Washington I observed firsthand--shall I say apartheid?

Nathan: Yes.

Blaisdell: Yes. Exactly. One side of the street where I first lived was Black, the other side was white. The school was Black; the schools in the district were Black. Oh, and there were a few white schools. It must also be sadly reported that when I went to Washington in 1933 "separate but equal" was the rule in government. Cafeterias were white and they were Black. Toilet facilities were Black and they were white. There was no first-class hotel in Washington that would accept Black customers.

Nathan: Washington is a southern city, isn't it?

Blaisdell: Washington was a southern city. The Washington National Airport was separate but equal. It happened to be under the jurisdiction of the Commerce Department when I was in the Commerce Department, and it was "desegregated" at that time.

What I learned in India was not forgotten. I learned a great deal about the shades of discrimination, the degree to which well-to-do Indians were the full equals of whites. Even for the half-white there was discrimination. Even well-to-do Indians were not accepted in British clubs. I am forced to remember that the Cosmos Club in Washington, D.C. was not desegregated until President Kennedy refused to accept honorary membership as long as it was segregated. In 1988 it is still segregated as far as women are concerned.

The distinction of class as different from race is hard to envisage unless you live with it, and sometimes you forget it when you live with it. It is very easy to fall into a segregation pattern when you're living in areas of that kind. And our University here--sure, we fall into it all the time. Asian, Indian, Black--some yes, some no.

Nathan: How does one combat this as an individual?

Blaisdell: You just are sure that your own behavior avoids it as much as possible. You have to be sensitive to it. Until you're sensitive to it, you're not going to do anything. At least this has been my experience.

Nathan: How do you account for the fact that you were aware of these issues as a young person?

Blaisdell: Well, it was partly the Christian upbringing, but I didn't realize when I read the Bible that when it spoke of servants, it meant slaves.

Nathan: You were saying that the references in the Bible to servants actually meant slaves?

Blaisdell: Particularly in the Old Testament. In South Africa the interpretation of the Bible is a justification for the way in which Blacks and whites are separated. This is a very basic problem, and it is justified on biblical grounds. I am sure that the training that I had in the church and in the fact that there was no discrimination as far as I was aware at that time helped influence my sense of the injustice with which our race can treat another.

Of course, there were very few Blacks in Michigan. There were very few Blacks in Columbia College when I was teaching there. Oh, there were plenty of Blacks in New York, most of them, of course, centered in Harlem at that time, on Manhattan Island, but there were many not in Manhattan. Puerto Ricans were also just coming into Manhattan at that time.

The discrimination in Columbia, at Columbia College was more profoundly against Jewish students, because one of the amazing things about New York in those years was that there were more Jews--no, I'll put it the other way--there were more Christians on the island of Ceylon than there were on the island of Manhattan. Manhattan was essentially a Jewish island, and the discrimination at Columbia was to maintain a place for former graduates of Columbia's friends. The old boys had to be taken care of--Barnard College was the same thing with women.

This was standard in American eastern universities. Oh, there's still discrimination at Columbia; I don't know what it is now. But when I was teaching undergraduates there, approximately 10 percent of the student body was Jewish. But if we took a look at the religious makeup of the local people at that time, it would have been predominantly Jewish.

Nathan: I see. Now to get you back again to India--

Blaisdell: The thing that I learned in India, certainly more than in Europe, was that religion was more than Christianity. I learned about religious standards and the significance of religion in people's lives. I learned to distinguish between Moslem and Hindu, as well as Christian and others. So that the sensitivity to discrimination against Jews was very easy to

recognize. With so many of my friends at Columbia, this was a nonexistent problem for me. The discrimination that was recognized would be against Japanese or against Chinese. That, too, became an important part of my life, because I remembered when I was studying American history that one of President Wilson's most difficult problems was the discrimination against Japanese, which again became California's discrimination. It thrust its ugly head again at the time of the segregation of Japanese during World War II.

We have to remember that it was at the end of World War II that discrimination in the United States Armed Services was abolished. Remember, this was before the Warren Court, that President Truman had to desegregate the Armed Services by executive order. It was not done by Act of Congress.

With me the desegregation idea was part of world Christianity. But more than that, it was part of what I saw as western civilization and the expansion of colonialism. At that time I was not sensitive to segregation as it had taken place in the early years of colonialism. But I was to learn. In fact, I think I learned much of it in reading British literature on British colonialism, and the criticisms of British imperialism in British literature as contrasted with a study that I did in the United States. I was very impressed at the time when Gunnar Myrdal wrote An American Dilemma. This was something which, again, came to my attention and I became sensitive, much more sensitive than I had been because it was one of those things that I was learning, learning, learning, all the years I was in Washington. I learned that slavery was not solely a question of Christianity, that it was also an evil--in my "book"--to be found elsewhere, and that it was not limited historically to Blacks. In the Roman Empire, slaves were whites. I learned that American slavery had its own particular characteristics in American life that were very closely related to the way in which land was used, and very closely associated with agriculture, in specific ways. The few liberated slaves that owned slaves were very largely in agricultural activity.

Nathan: Are you talking about East Indians now?

Blaisdell: I'm talking about American Indians. And American Indians in the legal history of the United States were not allowed to own slaves. That was a white privilege and a terrifically complicated cultural phenomenon. Almost any rule that you adopt you suddenly somewhere discover doesn't apply. As the years have gone on, and as my own experience has brought understanding of the evil of what is essentially slavery, the

recognition of "slavery" has become more and more a part of me. In fact at times I wonder--it's a little difficult to live with myself, because I suddenly recognize what I'm doing, and that isn't nice.

Nathan: That is perceptive. Do you raise these issues with your students?

Blaisdell: Do I? Yes. I don't do it as a--what shall I say?--conscious effort. But I try to give to them, as near as I can, my own experience, in the hope that they may recognize a little of it themselves.

Nathan: Yes, it's hard to do for yourself.

Regions, Land, and Economic Philosophy

Nathan: Shall we turn to the southern part of India? It sounds exciting: Ceylon, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay.

Blaisdell: Well, it was the urban setting as contrasted with agriculture, in many ways. Agriculture was so dominant all over India. Government had carryovers from both Hindu and Mohammedan custom; the Moghul empire was Moslem. As I've said, the Moslems were the rulers of India as the British came in. The British East India Company took on the civil service for the Moghuls, and this was dominant in north India, but not in south India. There were the so-called Indian Independent States, some 2,000 of them, some of them Hindu, some of them Moslem. The ruler, the head, was the basic owner of land, and people paid rent for land.

In Indian philosophy, the popular philosophy of India, one of the most outstanding arguments had to do with whether payments were "rent" or "taxes". In economic theory, this is a very important distinction. The fact is that socially there's not much difference--as a matter of theory, yes, there can be a difference.

Sharecropping brings the same problem. When the cropper shares what he grows with the landlord--is that a tax, or is it rent? If the landowner pays, it's a tax; but the sharecropper is not a landowner.

Nathan: Would it have anything to do with the way the funds are spent, for private or public use?

Blaisdell: Yes. But here again is a matter of economic definition. It's a matter of definition and of what you understand. In fact, there is so much in economics where the definition is dependent upon the use to be made of the income.

Nathan: It feels the same to the farmer?

Blaisdell: It feels the same, exactly.

I observed the architecture in the south, the architecture in the north; the architecture of cities as contrasted to the architecture of country; standard living facilities, both north and south. In the country there were the mud-walled villages. In the city other forms of construction were used--very little wood was used in the north because of the existence of the white ant. If you use wood, it's going to be gone overnight. So you use mud or you use concrete, you use bricks; one of the other nonwood materials so that it lasts a little bit.

Also related was the nature of ventilation, heat and cold. In my room in the hostel I had a fireplace. I seldom used it. Wood, of course, was not available. Add a little coal and it would be nice, but, after all, it was cheaper to put on a sweater.

Here is another little insight on custom and state of development. The way I got paid, once every two weeks, was by messenger from the treasurer's office at the college. He would bring a bag of silver rupees, and we would sit out on the stone balcony, the porch. Each of these pieces of silver would be rung on the stone to prove that it was good. And so I got my 150 rupees, each one of which had been tested. Paper just didn't exist.

Nathan: Did you pay your servant from this?

Blaisdell: I paid my servant from this. But it was that silver that was the important thing. Such a thing as a bank account--it never occurred to me. When I was in Europe I never had a bank account. I can remember so well going to a British bank when I was traveling and being paid gold sovereigns, by weight, not counted out. On the marble counter a little scoop would scoop up gold sovereigns, put them on the balance scale, and that was the way I knew how much I was getting. Monetary skills have changed.

Nathan: Yes. [laughter] That's amazing.

Typhoid Fever

Blaisdell: I talked about influenza, didn't I?

Nathan: Not yet, but I had a note that you got typhoid fever?

Blaisdell: Oh yes, typhoid. The second winter that I was there, probably late February--because I'm counting back now--I became ill. It turns out that there was some kind of intestinal problem. My Indian doctor, western-trained, as we know, said, "You've got typhoid." Typhoid runs a course in a 21-day period. It takes that long for the fever to wear off. The fever can go very high, at which time you try to cool it, cool the patient. There was no ice. A standard procedure for cooling me was to wrap me in a wet sheet and have a fan wave to cool the fever. Oh, they gave me some kind of pills, I don't know, never did know.

The 21 days went, and I seemed to be recovering--and then they discovered, by golly, this thing has started again, and I had had a re-infection. How, I don't know, but you can say without a doubt that this was not an unusual thing. (We always boiled our water and were careful about that sort of thing, and we took our quinine pills against malaria regularly and so on.) The knowledge of the spread of typhoid is very common. We know where it comes from, and it's usually from the handling of human feces, and we knew how feces are handled in India, and so all I can say is, it was not surprising. Where? When? Nobody knew. But there was another 21 days.

This was into, now, the third year in India. To get away from the heat, to get away from the potential of, again, re-infection, I was moved to the hills; that is, what we would call the mountains here, to the foothills of the Himalayas. I lived in a mission family's home in one of the hill stations there, the town of Mussoorie, where I was fed and where they brought me back to something like normal. When I went on the train in order to get to the train carriage, I had to put my arms around the shoulders of two men to walk. I had no strength at all. So the question of feeding, and the care that I got from the missionary family there in the hills, was part of an extension of the nursing care from the missionary family there on campus. No hospital was available. When I first became ill I was moved from my dormitory dwelling to a room in the other missionary's home where there was a fan available. "Fan" doesn't mean an electric fan. There was no such thing; this was all manual.

Nathan: The servant was sitting there to work the fan?

Blaisdell: The servant would be sitting out on the porch, and he would be pulling a rope which would go over a pulley, through the wall, and swing a punka, which is a board with a hanging, sort of a heavy blanket, that would swing and cause a little air to move. The warm air moving would be the extent of a fan. Nearly every room in an Indian house would have this kind of fan, and it was a great comfort. If you were out at dinner, you would have a fan across the table to keep the air moving, to keep the mosquitoes away. These are the things you learn to live with, and you pay no attention. The fact that the person was sitting out there on the porch doing the fanning--after all, you were giving him a job, weren't you? [chuckles] And that was important.

Hiking in the Hills

Blaisdell: I would like to talk about one of the striking experiences which I had during the first summer when I went to the hills. During that period one of the things in which I was most interested was the study of Hindi and Indian history. Just the work in Hindi itself was a good deal more than the study of routine language. It involved a great deal of work, trying to straighten out the relationships between the British government and the study of languages on the part of public servants, British as well as Indian.

During the last month of the first summer before going back to Allahabad I did my first long walk in India. It involved going over the mail route between the two major towns in the hills of Mussoorie and Naini Tal. Naini Tal was in the summertime the capital city of the United Provinces, where the government functioned. It also was a city that had a number of private schools for Indians and for westerners.

One of my associates in the college in Allahabad and I went together across country, hiking. They indicated this was on the mail route. I note this particularly because it was country, and mail was delivered almost day-by-day, scattered over the countryside where individual mail was taken to the different small towns. The hiking level was somewhere in the neighborhood of 6,000-7,000 feet. It was typical low mountain country and very beautiful. I remember particularly the earliest days when we were just leaving Mussoorie. In the joy of that countryside was the most beautiful red rhododendron in

the mountains that you can imagine. The fact that I should remember it this far along, so many years later, is indicative of the beauty that was there.

Our practice was to go from one mail stop to the next, maybe ten, fifteen miles, and then there would be a bungalow for the possible stop by any government official traveling over that route. My friend and I carried our luggage and all with donkeys. We even went so far as to have the luxury of a personal servant who was also very faithful in his taking care of us, if I can mention that particularly. Because theoretically at least he was to help with the cooking for us. However, most of the time the cooking we did was picked up in the various towns that we went through. It was strictly what we would call here at home just the kind of day-by-day cooking that we would do in the country.

Nathan: You ate what the local people would eat?

Blaisdell: We were eating what the local people would have. Always plenty of rice, plenty of tea. This kept us together pretty well. Anyhow I think I must mention rice and tea particularly because one of the things which I learned, both in China and in India, was that tea and rice were the best food there was if you had stomach trouble. It was amazing how quickly the body reacted to its feed of rice and tea. [chuckles] I had a terrible time once when I was in the hospital in Berkeley, trying to get just rice and tea. But you don't have rice and tea in hospitals in the United States. [laughter]

Nathan: Was your companion an Indian or a westerner?

Blaisdell: He was a fellow American teacher. The two of us stayed together. I should mention also that while we did not have any connection with the Mussoorie schools, there was a western school for British, French, Americans, who wanted to do their regular western schoolwork there in the mountains. There were several hundred students there and also a number of western teachers. So that in addition to our Indian friends and the mission station we got to know a number of different people and different classes. Strictly speaking we went from one school, Mussoorie, to the schools in Naini Tal where again we met friends.

As I think back over this and try to remember how far we went, offhand I would guess somewhere in the neighborhood of maybe 125 miles, something like that, over land and up and down the hills. With luck we had little rain and much of the beauty

of the hillsides or the mountainsides since we were fairly high.

I think that about notes that ten or fifteen days that we spent.

Nathan: Was this a Hindi-speaking area?

Blaisdell: Yes.

Nathan: Did you try your language?

Blaisdell: Oh yes. We used it all the time because this was the only language that was available. As far as the mail was concerned we saw none of it. We just knew that there were mail carriers who were going from one spot to the other, and we were on their trail. The trails were rough but passable without any great difficulty. Even when we went down into valleys and across the bridges and crossed the streams there were always adequate bridge facilities so there was no great difficulty. It was comfortable walking. It was just good country hiking.

Nathan: I'm glad you put that in.

Blaisdell: I'm glad I noted this, because I had made a note here that I must pick it up.

Influenza Epidemic, and Going Home (1918-1919)

Blaisdell: I came back down from the hills for the beginning of the last year that I was there, to finish out my third year.

That was the winter of the great influenza epidemic; the influenza epidemic was a world-wide phenomenon. We here in the United States tend to think of it as an American epidemic, but it was a world-wide epidemic; Europe as well as the United States, China, the whole world were influenced by this epidemic.

There was nothing that anybody, anywhere knew what to do. This was true here as well as it was in India, where the only thing you could do was to take care and burn the bodies. In India, where burning, of course, was the custom, the collection of bodies to be burned became a very serious business, because you were spreading the disease all the time.

Our college was located on the border of the Jumna River, which came together with the Ganges at the town of Allahabad. The students were organized to collect the bodies as they came up from the river onto the shore, as they were piled together and put on the burning pyres. This was the disposal process.

There I was, just recovering from the typhoid, a silly boy, feeling I must do what other people were doing as far as possible. We had a small group of people who were organized to do what could be done, which was next to nothing. But we helped with the burila or collecting for burning. We tried to do a little education on "boil your water, keep warm," which were the standard prescriptions for taking care of colds, no matter where or when. As far as food was concerned, rice was the best thing that you could have.

Anyhow, people kept--almost, I was going to say, annoying me, because they said I mustn't do that kind of thing. Why not? Well, I had to. That was the only answer I had. I did my little stint of teaching; I knew my lessons, worked at it, and helped, and that was that.

At the doctor's insistence I was to get out of India as soon as possible, and that meant finding a place on the ship leaving India, back to the United States. In those days during World War I, all shipping was war-oriented, and the war was just getting over. So priority was available only for exceptional cases, and I turned out to be an exceptional case. I was on the first ship out of Calcutta after the war that took passengers, and we had a 40-day ride to Boston.

Nathan: Forty days.

Blaisdell: [Chuckles] Fortunately, on board they rigged a swimming tank made of canvas. They would pump it full of sea water and you could at least splash around and have fun. The other principal objective was to kill time. I think of the 40 days, I probably played bridge 35. There were four men and we all did nothing but play bridge when we weren't in the water.

I was still suffering from the after-effects of the typhoid. On board was a doctor--all ships were required to have a doctor. This doctor was trained in Calcutta. He was Bengali and a very nice individual. The Bengali doctors were rather famous for their knowledge of the pharmacopoeia. This doctor said, "Oh, sure, I know; you had typhoid. I know what to give you." So he gave me a course of pills, big ones. I can still remember having to swallow those big pills. But in ten days, sure enough, they worked like magic, and at the end

of ten days, no more pills. I've always been thankful to that doctor, because he knew what the other doctors didn't know. He knew from his experience.

It was in a sense the same kind of thing that I had learned to appreciate from my missionary friends when I was in bed, unable to do anything. Those people took care of me like a baby. You don't forget that.

Eventually I landed in Boston. What I was about to do, I didn't know. I thought, "Well, maybe I'll go and do some graduate work in history at Harvard." So I went and had an interview. Everybody was very gracious, but I hadn't applied back in the early spring when you applied for admission or for scholarships, and I needed a scholarship.

III WORKING IN THE POST-WAR WORLDS: US AND CHINA (1922-1925)

Blaisdell: I got to New York--actually, I went home first, and I was at home at Penn State for a short time. When I arrived in New York, I went to see some of the friends I had known and from whom I had gotten the job in India, and I was interviewed by them.

Interning in a Welfare Agency

Blaisdell: Just how it all happened I don't know, but I got an internship in a welfare agency in New York City, doing social work. I was interested in it because associated with it was a potential scholarship at Columbia in, at that time, the New York School of Social Work. Now it's the Columbia School of Social Work in New York.

So I spent the summer doing that internship. I didn't get much out of that summer, because I didn't have any money, except just the skimpiest kind of pocket money that I got from my dad.

Nathan: The internship did not pay?

Blaisdell: The internship paid nothing. It provided a small apartment to live in, and it was associated with a settlement house, and I became acquainted with settlement houses.

YMCA and the Student Volunteer Movement

Blaisdell: Two relationships had grown out of the revival service in the Midwest: the local student YMCA, and the statewide activities of the student YMCA. Both of these interested me when I was a

junior student in college, and I became associated with the group known as the Student Volunteer Movement. This was a formal organization, established in New England originally, which was concerned with foreign mission activity. My association with it was among those things which interested me particularly in the religious activities. This relationship during that junior year continued in my senior year, when I transferred to Pennsylvania State College, now Pennsylvania State University.

There I continued my relationships with the student religious activities, that continued also the work of the Student Volunteer Movement. In order to bring this kind of activity, so to speak up-to-date, one should remember much that went on in the student movement during the 1960s, when today we have such things as the Peace Corps. The social interests of the Student Volunteer Movement were very similar to those which today (1988) have been followed by the Peace Corps, established by President Kennedy. It was through the Student Volunteer Movement that I learned of the original proposal to go to India as a teacher in the Ewing Christian College in Allahabad.

[Laughter] Anyhow, it seemed that Harvard had no interest in me. Anyway, I was on my way home, back to Michigan, and what was to be next? Well, strangely enough--and here I still have no memory as to how this actually happened--but through the older association with the Student Volunteer Movement, I was invited to become a representative of the Student Volunteer Movement, which headquartered in New York, and to act as a sort of travelling secretary to interest other students around the country in the movement. So I spent the next year with this activity, particularly in colleges and universities scattered over the country from West Coast to East Coast. And the association of this religious movement with the activities I had in India was what was interesting students most. My interest in student activities and my interest in educational activities were accentuated. I spent that full year in such travels, including a number of different inter-university gatherings that met as a result of the Student Volunteer Movement.

The Student Volunteer Movement was supposed to recruit mission employees--people who were prepared to say, "We would like to work in the mission field, become missionaries." This experience of mine in India was such that people said, "Would you take on that job?" and so, as I said, I did it for a year, traveling to I've forgotten how many--to fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty universities. It was the year they were recruiting for

another conference. Every four years they had a session. The next one was to be in Kansas City.

Nathan: Where did you go to do your recruiting?

Blaisdell: At universities scattered around the country. The central office of the Student Volunteer Movement was in New York, and they routed me from one to another. In essence, what I was doing was telling my Indian experience.

Nathan: That must have been an interesting time for you.

Blaisdell: It turned out to be something I really was quite fascinated with, because I met students, I met people, I learned about universities.

Columbia/New York School of Social Work. Marriage, and a Job in China (1922)

Blaisdell: When I came back to New York I was offered a scholarship to the Columbia/New York School of Social Work. At the same time I needed a summer job. Universities were not in session.

The YMCA in Brooklyn that had been associated with this internship asked me if I would take responsibility for their summer camp for high school students in the Pocono Hills outside of New York. There I was in charge, first for the recruiting of the students and then taking care of the camp where we had a couple of hundred students for the ten weeks of the summer vacation. I earned a little bit of cash, plus what I had earned during the year.

With the grant of tuition at the New York School of Social Work, for the next two years I continued graduate work there. The New York School of Social Work was just becoming a formal part of Columbia University and included the granting of the degree as Master of Social Work from Columbia.

It was this association with Columbia which tied into the work I had slowly been interesting myself in: the development of social work in the Student Volunteer Movement. This tied in very closely with the movement within the religious organizations of so-called social Christianity, and my continuing interest in the possible further work abroad. And it developed eventually for my work at Yenching University. Yenching University in Peking was one of the two joint

Christian universities--established by the Foreign Mission Boards--of which there were two in China: one at Peking, the other in western China. (The name has slipped my mind at the moment, but I think it is Chungking.)

At Columbia I had the three years of work which eventuated in my particular interest in economics as part of the social work that was being taught there at the university. This interest set the picture for my return to Columbia at a later date for further graduate work.

Nathan: When you went to China were you married at that time?

Blaisdell: Yes.

When I was graduated from Columbia--my work had been sociology plus history--the opportunity came to do sociology in Peking. [Beijing] Well, I had gotten acquainted with the registrar of the School of Social Work, a lovely lady. We decided we wanted to get married, which we did my last year there. When we learned of this opportunity in China, we decided that sounded fascinating.

Nathan: This was Catharine Maltby?

Blaisdell: Yes. So Miss Maltby and I were married at Christmastime, and I finished that year. She was still working at the school, as registrar. She finished her term there, and in August we took off for Peking, China. The appointment was such that in our eyes at that time the perquisites were very attractive. We not only had our salary, but we were also to have housing, which was an additional perquisite. Travel, of course, was paid. The doctor who approved us to go said, "You've both been working. I want you both to have at least a month before you go, just vacation. No assignment of any kind."

I didn't know anything better, so we came to California and went to Lake Tahoe. We spent the month at Lake Tahoe, which was a wonderful experience, learning a teeny bit about California, learning a teeny bit about the University of California, and Stanford. I had nothing to do with the University at that time, but at least I made the acquaintance of the place.

Nathan: At the School of Social Work, had you thought at any time of staying in that field?

Blaisdell: Yes, definitely. But while I was in China, our thinking together, both about the mission relationship and our feelings

about our religious development--we both were not prepared to say we're irreligious, but we were prepared to say organized religion means very little to us. At the same time I was becoming very sensitive to the fact that social work as such meant for a man essentially, "How do you raise money?"

Nathan: This was in 1922?

Blaisdell: Yes. In 1922 social work meant how do you raise money? In fact, before I had left Columbia University, one of the jobs that I was offered was the presidency of Tuskegee. I turned it down immediately because I knew this was money raising. I'm not a money raiser. Money raising isn't something I am particularly interested in.

My readings had shifted over into economics. I had become aware of what was going on, particularly in England. One of the great studies that had been made was the study of London by the social workers, Sidney and Mrs. Webb. They also had been involved in starting the London School of Economics.

Now I'm noting my interest in the first notable book by John Maynard Keynes, which he wrote at the close of the discussions on the First World War and the Peace Conference at that time. The book was highly critical of the peace program finally worked out by President Wilson and the European governments. I note this primarily because it interested me in Keynes and, like his later books, fed my growing interest at the time in the teaching of economics. The book was so striking. In fact, it was so striking in the political science literature that it established Keynes's status in the economic world long before his basic analysis of the economy which was written in his later books.

Keynes, Economics, and International Affairs'

World War I had come to an end in 1918, and John Maynard Keynes was a member of the staff of the British government during the treaty negotiations. The terms of the treaty and the settlement President Wilson negotiated for the League of

'Professor Blaisdell added these written comments after reading the transcript of his interviews.

Nations became highly criticized. Keynes's unhappiness over the treaty resulted in his first outstanding book, The Tragedy of the Treaty of Paris. It was read in terms of national political economy, down to the European grassroots. The skill of the basic analysis fascinated me.

As I said, I was beginning to think of economics as the field in which my interests were moving. In addition, I was living in a world in which the fascinations of international affairs were painted critically in that key book. History, sociology, social work, politics began to shape themselves in my mind. I was continuing to learn. In this connection, the China experience again showed the close relationships between economics and politics.

Blaisdell: When we left Lake Tahoe and were on our way to Peking, we had a beautiful ten days in Japan. This was a matter simply of when ships were available. We got to Yokohama and there were ten days there when we were waiting for a ship that would take us on. Eventually we went from--I think it was Shimonoseki, and from Shimonoseki it was not too far, but it was a day's ride and overnight to Shanghai.

At Shanghai we stayed in a simple hotel. I can still remember the clatter of the wooden shoes on the street outside. But it was comfortable, and maybe a day or two later, we were off for the north, to Peking.

On the way one of those things that you never forget, happened. At the Yangtze River where we crossed at Nanking there was no bridge, so it meant going by barge. The barge did not take rail cars; it was just a freight boat. This was probably my first experience with porters really struggling for work, fighting because they wanted to carry your luggage. With a little struggle to be sure the luggage got to somebody, we finally got aboard and then got off. As we got off, of course, the experience was repeated. Who was going to get the privilege of carrying the luggage?

Eventually we got to the train on the other side and went on our way to Peking, where we were met by friends with whom we were going to work. There the first experience was to find a house. Friends wanted us to live with them. Well, we were a newly married couple: no. We stayed, I think, maybe six weeks, and then we wanted our own place.

With a little argument we finally succeeded in persuading them that yes, this was proper and could be done. We were a little bit unfortunate because we couldn't find the kind of residence we wanted. New friends had shown us their Chinese house. With its paper windows and its courtyards we thought it was just lovely. Try to find one, and not only to find one, but to find one that had sufficient, what we would call modernizations, so that it would be comfortable. This meant heat and it meant a degree of plumbing, a degree of kitchen facilities.

As it ended up, we did find not a Chinese residence, but what is known as a Eurasian residence, namely half Chinese and half Western. This did give us a small courtyard. It gave us a room where we could build a fireplace. It gave us outlets for our coal stoves. It gave us two bedrooms, a dining room, and a kitchen and servants' residence next to the house.

We also had a small front courtyard with a Chinese gate. Gates are very important in China. It's a cultural phenomenon growing out of the variety of houses and what you do with that gate. Usually as you go through a Chinese gate the first thing you come to is the kitchen. Then from the kitchen you go on into the inner house and the inner courtyard. This we succeeded in putting together, and we began to learn to use rickshas. I began to also learn again to use the bicycle.

When September came I was ready for teaching; my teaching was interesting. These were Chinese students who did have some English.

Nathan: This was Yenching University?

Blaisdell: It was in Yenching University.

In effect I was in China under the auspices of the International YMCA to do two things: to teach at Yenching University and to do social work with the Peking YMCA. "Yenching" is the short name for Chinese capital. The "ching" tells you it's the capital. First it was called Yenching, then Peking; the modern name is Beijing, or northern capital. "Bei" means north; "Nan" means south; and so "Nanjing" means southern capital.

Yenching was one of two mission universities. One was in the city of Beijing, and the other in the west of China, at Chungking. They were both interdenominational. There had been the agreement among the Christian denominations that they would be Christian universities, but they would be

interdenominational. In effect, this was a continuation of my "religious" experience; it was something we could live with.

Anyhow, the first year's work began with studying Chinese, and in the middle of that year I decided I was ready to begin teaching. I could have continued with the study of Chinese; Cath did and she became much better in Chinese than I was. (She was so much better than I was in so many things.)

It was a very, very cold and very difficult winter and there was, as there was practically every winter, famine. Food was just not available in the cities for anybody. One of the programs that the Peking YMCA developed--which I volunteered for and was assigned to undertake--was an emergency famine relief program. There was an international famine relief entity functioning in China at the time. One of the principles was that people who were prepared to work could be fed, and so you fed people just enough to keep them able to work. You knew that as soon as agriculture was ready, they were ready to go back to agriculture. This was a fundamental principle of relief: keep people alive so they can go back to their farms. The self-sufficient agriculture of the Chinese farm was so important.

But where do you get supplies for the relief? Well, we also knew that there were a lot of wealthy Chinese.

Part of the game in the YMCA was to get some Chinese money for the YMCA, the relief program, and maybe for some other good things, too. So with a minimum of funds a Chinese colleague and I went north, up to Manchuria. The commander-in-chief of the provincial army up there, Chong Tso Lin, was making his independent stand as the head of Manchuria. What his relationship was to Peking as the head of China was a different story. This was the era of the great warlords, and the era of the great warlords meant that they were fighting primarily for the control of Peking.

Famine Relief and War Lords

Blaisdell: Now what about feeding the hungry? Well, some of the Chinese civil servants were also interested in the YMCA. One of them was a member of the board of directors of the Peking YMCA, a person who had great skills in a lot of ways, both as a civil servant and as a knowledgeable Chinese, as well as concerning the international service. So he and I became the people to go

to Manchuria and see if we could persuade Chong Tso Lin to support the famine relief program.

The two of us went up to Manchuria. There we were lucky; we did succeed in persuading Chong Tso Lin that his interests were also to be served by our program. He donated a whole freight car load of grain--no cash. Grain was much more important. That's exactly what we wanted, which was enough for thirty days for our purposes.

This was for a city where during the winter every morning the people who had frozen to death the night before were picked up off the streets. We thought we had done something reasonably worth doing, but it was difficult. And I learned a lot, both of Chinese and of the international relationships in the process.

Nathan: How were you able to persuade this powerful war lord to give you this present?

Blaisdell: Well, the question of the interrelationship between "the government of China"--if we were to put that in quotation marks--and that of the individual warlords, each of whom was prepared to claim himself as part of the "government of China," is a fascinating historical account of national loyalty, irrespective of provincial loyalty. Individual provincial war lords were apt to endeavor to become the government of China.

Now the government of China in the following years in fact changed from one warlord to another. The name of Chiang Kai-shek of course is well known. His attempts to become the government of China are well known during World War II, and his attempt to oppose the Japanese at the time of the Japanese control. It might be worth noting also that it was during this period just after I had left China that in the Chinese Customs Service the senior official was Japanese, because under the treaty arrangements, the largest trading group with China held the chairmanship of the Customs Service. Again, from the western standpoint, it was a very happy relationship in which western governments in effect controlled the government of China.

This relationship obviously was a highly complicated one in which Chinese and the western powers never quite saw eye-to-eye. The establishment and maintenance of national status by Chinese as contrasted with western countries became notable.

Westerners' Standard of Living in China'

Speaking of our standard of living, like most other westerners living in China, our personal standards were adequate; excellent housing, excellent food, thoroughly happy friendships, good times. In the winter a high mat shed was built over the tennis courts for a superb skating rink; dust storms forced the ice to be kept reflooded. The ice required frequent night-time watering, but prompt freezing kept the skating good. Symbolically this can note the continuing pleasure of our life.

On the monetary side, the dollar, like other European currencies, stood firmly against the silver yuan in international exchange or against local paper currencies which retained local exchangeability for only short periods of time. During our stay in Beijing we went through two rounds of paper, each dependent on a different military general. Nationally, the telegraph made possible a somewhat free exchange between silver and copper and other nations' goods and currencies.

Chinese Customs Service

Blaisdell: The warlords were fighting for the control of Peking because Peking had money when nobody else had money, and the reason they had money was that they had what was called the Chinese Customs Service.

The Chinese Customs Service was operated by an international administration that had the responsibility for paying interest on the international loans that had been made to build railroads and provide other public services for the Chinese government while it still had an emperor. The funds that remained after the payment of the interest was free money for the government. So now we've begun to say, "Why did people want to control the central government?" The reason was, because there was money.

'Professor Blaisdell added these comments after reading the transcript of his interviews.

Nathan: Back to economics?

Blaisdell: Back to economics. And this international and internationally treaty-established public service in the early period had as its director an Englishman. As I said, that was by agreement among the foreign governments doing business in China: that the head of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service would be a representative of the country that did the largest business in China. It was an international service; it had American employees and European employees, as well as Chinese. It also had what was called the Customs College, which trained customs officials, all Chinese. The Customs College provided for the training of a variety of Chinese civil servants, some of whom continued to work with the Customs Service. Others worked in other activities within the Chinese government.

The interrelationship here between a group of individual foreigners hired by the Chinese Customs Service from different nationalities meant that the individuals technically were servants of the Chinese government, although they were actually servants of their western governments. The choice of individuals was left to the foreign governments; the individuals were called commissioners.

Western Investment and the Customs Service'

In China and in Southeastern Asia the trading companies were sensitive to the potentialities of spices to begin with, but also the textiles which made these countries famous in Europe for their quality. It was not surprising that the imperialism of the nineteenth century throughout the American as well as the Far East and African lands brought commercial and economic struggles. Shipping, in the form of navies and associated mechanical investments, found their way into the transport associated with East Asian nations.

In China the ports of Canton and Shanghai, along with others, were stamping grounds for commercial investments by European nations. As these nations spotted their investments,

'Professor Blaisdell added these written comments after reading the transcript of his interviews.

the protection of their properties became a basic claim for legal rights (international law). The variety of international organizations keyed to the international trade and politics produced such entities as Hong Kong off the coast of China and the trading cities on the coast of India.

The various national governments had made their arrangements collectively with the Chinese Empire; one result was the creation of a group of international civil servants who had jurisdiction over the Chinese Customs Service. As indicated earlier, any surplus became the property of the Chinese government located in Peking. Thus the government in Peking became the government in China for those governments holding treaty commitments with China. By watching these developments, during the years we were in China, we slowly became acquainted with the ways the various foreign governments functioned there.

Chinese Postal Service

Blaisdell: A parallel relationship, very similar but independent of the Customs Service, was that of the Chinese Postal Service. Here the postal service in China, which was highly effective, was operated by treaty with the French as an independent entity. But again, they were individuals, French individuals who worked with Chinese in the development of the postal service.

These international developments interested me very noticeably and I became quite interested eventually in these arrangements which were so important in Chinese development. Particularly in later years when I came to Berkeley, my interest in the various international activities, as well as national, political developments, grew out of that Chinese experience which was so closely related to other international activities in China.

The Chinese Postal Service, and the Chinese Customs Service were the two international services that were both superior civil service operations. They reminded me of the Indian Civil Service. (Most people knew nothing of the Indian Civil Service.) I seemed to know exactly, because here was a civil service that was almost non-subject to political problems. Literally this was not true. There were political problems, but they were handled on an international basis, rather than on a strictly domestic basis.

As we have seen, the question then was, "Who was in charge of the Chinese government that was going to get any of the extras?"

The Chinese central government was employing, as civil service officers, a Doctor of Philosophy in Chinese from Columbia, a Doctor of Philosophy from Berlin, a graduate of Yale, as well as graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, and Berlin. People in the Chinese foreign civil service had the highest training that people could have--they were tremendously able people.

Just as the Customs Service was administered by the largest trading partner, the British, the Postal Service--as I have mentioned--was administered by the second largest partner in trade, the French. So you had, in effect, a British Civil Service for customs (international), and you had a French Civil Service for the post office (international), both historically the best there was.

Treaties, and Extraterritorial Rights*

In India, I learned, so slowly, but firsthand, of the activities of the various nationalist East Indian governmentally approved corporations and their relations throughout the Far East. I had learned something from the years in India, but looking back, there was so little I knew. In China there were the treaties which gave extraterritorial rights to foreign governments and foreign individuals. In China, these varied from Hong Kong through foreign areas in other cities, to the building contracts of railroads, shipping lines and other imperial rights approved by Chinese governments as they changed to republic and wartime Japanese controls and the ultimate (1949) Communist government. At that time, in the 1920s, such stability as the Chinese government had, rested largely on the international treaties.

*Professor Blaisdell added these written comments after reading the transcript of his interviews.

China and the West: Chinghua College

Blaisdell: The particular relationship of the American government to the Chinese government is represented by the treaties that came out of the 1903 Boxer treaties when the United States, instead of accepting its share of the duties imposed on the Chinese government, transferred its share to the Chinese government itself. It resulted in the establishment of a series of university scholarships for the benefit of Chinese students in the United States: these were called the Boxer Indemnity Fellowships.

At the same time these funds were also used to establish Chinghua College, a college of mechanical arts established just outside of Peking. At this college Americans were also hired to teach in the college. So we have the interesting phenomenon of a foreign university in effect carried on by the Chinese government, using western training. These combinations of western imperialism in education, and the postal and customs services gave a particular quality to the development within China.

Then we come to 1949 and the establishment of a communist government in China, and the different set of international relationships which are to grow.

At the present time (1988) we still have the island of Taiwan under a western style Chinese government as contrasted with the communist government on mainland China. The negotiations, interrelationship between the two, still are pretty far apart. But it is well to remember in this set of relationships that the West and the Chinese governmental relationships were highly complicated and need to be pretty thoroughly understood.

These complications can be represented dramatically by the discussion of a Chinese ambassador at dinner in a western society. In his conversation with a lady sitting next to him at dinner, he was interested to hear her remark, "Mr. Ambassador, I'm amazed to hear how well you speak English. You speak as well as I do." To which his answer was, "Madame, I speak much better English than you do. I learned my English from Shakespeare and from the King James version of the Bible."

Nathan: Very impressive.

Blaisdell: It simply illustrates concretely the combination which existed between Chinese officials trained in the West and those who

recognized their own Chinese nationality as contrasted with western relationships.

At the YMCA we had very little relationship with the diplomatic folks; we had much more with the Chinese Customs Service. As I said, it was called Chinese, and this was, in my book, very important because at that time Chinese people were beginning to feel--and the foreigners were beginning to acknowledge--that whether or not these activities were Chinese was important. The psychology of Chinese activity in the YMCA was that the YMCA was a Chinese YMCA. It was not an American service in China, but a Chinese YMCA by which a few Americans were hired.

Now this was something that was happening also within the Christian community. Christian churches saw that they must also be Chinese. This was already true and had been for many, many years.

In the Roman Catholic church, many bishops were Chinese. And though many Chinese were practicing Christians and Catholics, lay people and bishops, they were still very much Chinese, and very nationalistic, with beliefs and ways of thinking that were as important to them as the western religion.

I visited on one of the long summer hikes a Trappist monastery which was Chinese. They had a little Christian church in the community--but mostly Chinese. There were a few, half dozen Belgians, but the rest were all Chinese. We were in the midst of a nationalist Chinese movement, which fitted very well with the organizations that I was associated with.

I had begun to sense this in India. But in China it was full-blown, so much so that among our American teachers in the university were some who began to wear Chinese clothing. Very comfortable. Chinese shoes, Chinese everything. So that they were prepared to recognize if they were going to work in China, there were Chinese customs.

I think we've done just about enough of this for the moment.

Nathan: It's interesting how this all does fit together. This may be something just to put in mind for later consideration, but earlier you had spoken a little about the influences of different religions in India. I wondered whether in China you had any similar recognition. Was religion of one kind or another an apparent influence in China?

Blaisdell: It may be worthwhile to note that during the China experience although I retained a basic interest in the religious developments, the changes that had taken place in my thinking both in New York at Columbia and in the work which I had done in social work, I was far more interested in the social developments and in the social and political changes which were taking place in China at the time.

On the religious side, the influences of Confucianism, Buddhism, and earlier Roman Catholicism impressed me; also Protestant Christian missions, of which I was a part. It too was becoming part of Chinese nationalism.

Catharine's Teaching in China (1923) and the US

Nathan: I wondered whether you might be willing to tell more of your China story. Perhaps you are ready to talk about your wife's teaching in a boys' middle school while you were teaching at Yenching University.

Blaisdell: OK, a note about Catharine in the middle school. I've mentioned that we both spent a great deal of time in that first year studying Chinese and studying Chinese history, sociology, social organization, everything. I mentioned my own pulling out of some of that in order to take part in the social movement, particularly during the famine year in the winter. Catharine was always wanting to be into something. She was a semi-professionally minded individual.

As the years went on and at the end of World War II, one of the things that took her time and energy was the participation in the teaching of reading as a profession in Washington, D.C. with a few of her associates. I mention this simply because of her continual need for personal participation in what was going on in modern life. In China this attitude was reflected in the fact that she said, "The Chinese are developing schools for their children, and they're trying to teach English, and maybe there would be a place for me." So with her smattering of Chinese, just as mine was a smattering of Chinese, she went and applied to the public school to see if there was any way that she could be useful. Well, I must say that the willingness and desire of Chinese educational personnel, and teachers, wanting foreign help, particularly in the teaching of English, was notable, so that she found her place very definitely in that activity.

At the end of World War II one of her discoveries was there were so few GIs who were able to read and write, that when they came back home one of the things they wanted to do was learn to read and write, and do arithmetic.

I remember her telling the story of one of her students who was a mechanic in the Air Force. She said, "You can't read and write. How in the dickens did you manage to do these services to airplanes?" "Oh," he said, "we had gadgets we used to measure with, and I learned to use those. I didn't have to learn to read and write." So having discovered this she went to work, and they began to develop what was and became speed reading and the teaching of reading in the public schools. When we went west to Berkeley she brought it along, the skill.

She always had to match me or do better. So first she went to work in the various private schools here in the Bay Area. As the years went on she decided the public schools were more needful and said, "I'm going to public schools." She went to public schools as a volunteer teacher, but it all began in China.

Nathan: What a wonderful story.

There was a reference to industrial social work--do you see it at the bottom of the [outline] page here?

Blaisdell: Yes.

Nathan: Is that something that's of interest?

Blaisdell: Well, with Cath and the YW--yes, I think a word is very important, because in college she was a YW student and participant in work with the YWCA. It was one of the reasons, of course, that when we were married she had an interest in the fact that YMCA was managing what I was up to, and she was interested in that. So when we came back to the United States, after our three years in China, immediately we had two interests. One was finding a job for her, and the other was having a baby. We were much more successful in the job than in having the baby. After we came back from China she became an industrial secretary with the YW, placing people in jobs there in the New York area. She continued in this placement activity through the time when our son was born. She enjoyed and was good at it.

Well, after we were married for seven years, eventually, with the aid of a very good physician in Brooklyn, we were

successful. Our son was born, and has been a great joy to us for a long, long set of years.

Public and Private Schools in the U.S.

Blaisdell: When we went to Washington later, placing him in school became a very valuable learning experience for us. Our associates and their children were going to private schools. They were white schools. We both, she and I, were brought up in public schools. I had never been to a private school, except the small denominational college for a few years. She had gone to a private finishing school--Northfield--a New England custom. Like practically all of the private schools in New England, they were religious schools, and one has to remember this was also true of Harvard, of Yale, of Columbia, of the outstanding higher-level schools in the early years of the Republic.

So we were back, shall I say, having taught at Columbia, it was "natural"--put "natural" in quotes--that we fell in with the custom, and our son Tom went to private schools all the time we were there in Washington (but that is really part of the Washington story as contrasted with the China episodes, although as I said, so much began in China).

Nathan: You mentioned, I think, that your wife had gone to private schools?

Blaisdell: As I said, she went to private school, after her early schooling, in Northfield, Connecticut. The school was Northfield Academy, a girls' school which had been founded under the leadership of Dwight L. Moody, a great evangelist of the 1900s. In addition to the girls' school he also established a boys' school just across the river at Northfield, Connecticut. Catharine had great stories of her school days and the way in which she worked with the school administrators, sort of as an intern in taking care of various dormitory activities in the school, and the way in which the school teachers (shall I say) cuddled up to her and sort of made her one of the family. Her devotion to the school long after she had gone to Columbia at Teachers College was very close in most of her life.

So private schools had a very warm place in the family there when we first went to Washington. It was not surprising that our son Tommy started his early work in one of the private schools. He didn't like the first school he started to, so

there had to be a second one; but that one he stayed with until he finished his work and was ready for college. I think that about takes care of that section.

Nathan: I might just ask one question. Was this a sectarian school?

Blaisdell: Oh, yes. Both of Moody's schools were devoutly evangelistic. There was much in the curriculum of the school which was closely associated with the work of the church. Why do I say "the church?" Why don't we just say "religion" instead of "the church."

Nathan: Fine.

China: Travel, Rugs, and Community Service

Blaisdell: There were problems back in the United States with the death of Catharine's father that necessitated her making a quick trip back to the United States. The question was, what was the quickest way to go? Because this was the era of steamships, it was a slow trip.

Nathan: In the early 1920s?

Blaisdell: This was in 1923. The trip meant a freighter out of China to Japan, time in Japan, another trip to the United States, landing on the West Coast, another week to the East Coast where her home was. So we thought, "How do you get there most quickly?" Among my Chinese friends was a diplomatic officer, Chinese, who was negotiating with the officials of the Soviet Union over the status of the Chinese Eastern Railway. This was the railway which crosses Manchuria to Vladivostok from the Soviet Union. With his intervention we succeeded in getting a Soviet visa for Mrs. Blaisdell to cross the trans-Siberian area, through to Western Europe, and get a fast boat across the Atlantic. So that was the way she got back to New England. She had a very creative type of mind, and one of the things which went through her mind was, "How do I pay for it?" After all, we were living on a very modest income and the addition of a long-travel trip plus the trip at home and the cost at home and all was large. So she went to New York and persuaded one of the big department stores to use her as an agent to buy some Chinese rugs, and as a result, she succeeded in paying for her trip.

Nathan: How clever.

Blaisdell: Chinese rugs in those days were very rare, and very high quality. Later when we came home to live we also brought some with us because they could be bought reasonably. It was one of the moves that was so typical of Cath.

Now let's see--what I'm looking for at the moment is the community service business in Peking. In connection with my field work with the YMCA, one of the studies which we undertook had to do with the Peking rug industry. Chinese rugs were well known and I mentioned in connection with Mrs. Blaisdell's trip to the United States that she had gone to the stores in New York and peddled some Chinese rugs. That was one approach.

The other approach was, who makes the rugs? How are they made and what kind of an industry is it? When I had finished the study, we called it Peking Rugs and Peking Boys.

Nathan: You wrote a book about this?

Blaisdell: Yes. This was a quickly sketched but closely studied view of the work which was done in the Peking rug industry. "Industry" is a bad word, really, because the industry consisted of small groups of several hundred boys who were living in dormitories of a rough kind and who, day after day, were doing their work on the looms. These were youngsters, mostly early teens, who were paid by the organizers for their work and who did the tying of the knots on the looms by hand. It was all hand work and the designs were made and then built into the rug as it was on the loom. The boys did most of the work. After the completion of a particular rug it was then washed and gotten ready for sale. The sales were limited; as you can imagine, they were small in number because of the limitations on the work of the boys.

Nathan: Were these woolen rugs?

Blaisdell: The work was all done on wool. In fact if you want to see my rugs, they are here.

Nathan: Yes, I do.

Blaisdell: These on the living room floor were made in one of the rug factories there in Peking originally. Mrs. Blaisdell and I brought them home with us when we came.

Nathan: This is very elegant. The pattern is along the border. Is there a name for this sort of design, a border design that leaves the rest of the rug plain?

Blaisdell: Oh yes. I wish I could remember it, but it is a fairly standard design.

Nathan: The colors are sort of beige and rose. Have the colors changed over the years?

Blaisdell: No. This was one of the very interesting things in connection with the industry, that the better quality rugs were made in foreign dyes so that the woolen colors remained steady, and ours have remained steady over the years. In fact, while the colors in the rugs have stayed firm, the wool is badly worn. So they have served us well, and I keep the memory of them. But I keep also the memory of those several thousand boys who were working in the factories. Again, factory is a bad name; the work was done by hand.

The boys lived in rough dormitories and they worked there ten hours a day or whatever it turned out. They were fed. This was the kind of labor that there was in numerous places. Peking happened to be one of the places where these rugs were made; there were other places where similar work was done, and still is. What the work amounts to nowadays, I just don't know.

Nathan: Was there interest in trying to develop the industry further?

Blaisdell: Oh yes. There were a number of Chinese who were working in the industry, managers and owners of the factories. There were a few westerners who had also gone into the same businesses and the same kind of businesses, whose factories were essentially the same as those which were run by Chinese. There was very little difference with the boys who were brought in to work there.

One of the things we did not discover because it didn't exist, was any consistent plan for the boys going to school in any way. It was notable that this wasn't yet something which was part of the program, at least as far as that industry was concerned.

Nathan: As the boys grew older were they kept on the labor force?

Blaisdell: Only for a limited time. They were mostly boys who were brought in by their parents. The food was good, work was good, but it was hard. Only for a limited series of years did the boys stay there.

Nathan: Was there a reason to use children of a certain age?

Blaisdell: They were cheap, I think, basically, and they were under pretty stern control. The management rules were very tight, and the boys were given relatively little in the way of recreation. They were there to work and they worked. So they would come and they would go. But I felt that as we were talking about this, that was one of the things I had forgotten.

This feeds in there somewhere as one of our activities.

Nathan: Yes, it does. Would you consider this part of your community service?

Blaisdell: Oh, definitely. It was something that nobody had touched before, so that when we finally did the work we felt at least we were beginning on something that might be of more significance later. I'm afraid it didn't amount to a great deal. The rugs are still being made and I'm sure that today they are on some form of more mechanical device than they were at the time when the boys were working on them.

When Cath came back to China from her trip, this time she was more at ease, she didn't feel pushed particularly in getting back--except, I hope, she was interested in getting back home. She came West across the United States. At that time the trips out of Seattle were the quickest. That was the northern route. So she came over the northern route to Japan, and from Japan by freighter to the Chinese port of Tientsin.

There was a little, interesting incident. I had become acquainted, as I noted previously, with the International Famine Relief Organization. And as I went to Tientsin on the railroad to meet that boat coming in from Japan, I ran into a friend who was an employee of the International Famine Relief Organization, and naturally we began talking about what we were going down to the port for. I told him that I was meeting my wife, and he said, well, he wasn't so lucky, but he was receiving a motorcar, one of the early motorcars in China. He said he wasn't quite sure how he was going to get it to Peking, because he didn't drive. I said, "Well, you do want to get it to Peking. Would you let me drive it?" He said, "Would you?" I said, "Sure, I'll drive it, if you're willing to accept it." And so our understanding was that within a couple of days, when the landing and all was taken care of, that I would drive the car back for him.

Nathan: What did you do about gas?

Blaisdell: With the car we could get gas without difficulty in Tientsin. The trip was about 120 miles, something like that, by road, and there were road problems. We put a couple of cans of gas in the back of the car to take along with us, and packed our little luggage into the back end of the car and started for Peking.

Nathan: Do you remember what kind of car it was?

Blaisdell: No, I just don't remember.

Nathan: It's not important, but car buffs would want to know.

Blaisdell: No, I just don't remember. A car was a car in those days. It had an engine, it had four wheels. I had never learned to drive the beginning Ford car, I had always driven other cars. So we came, but picking our way across the fields, since there were no paved roads; there wasn't even a dirt road. We would drive along the dikes along the river.

It was during the years of war lords in China, and there was a struggle going on between the general in charge in Tientsin and those in charge in Peking. We were crossing battlefields, and we would come to the trenches. How do we get through the trenches? Well, we were friendly with the soldiers and they would make way for us to get through the trenches.
[laughter]

Nathan: You had a little more Chinese by this time?

Blaisdell: By this time we had a little Chinese. We got to the Peking wall, the wall around the city, and the gate was already closed. It was 8 o'clock in the evening, and the gates closed at sunset. How to get in, the gates being closed? My friend's Chinese was much worse than ours, but we finally succeeded in persuading the police who were guarding the gate, the wall, that we were reasonable and would do no harm to anybody, so they finally let us in. Of course we had friends inside, and he had friends inside, and that was the end of that particular adventure. But it was an amusing one.

Anyhow, when Cath returned we were already residents of Peking. We had become used to going in and out, going out to what was the summer palace outside Peking, but more important than that was the ability to go to different monasteries. Monasteries were accustomed to the receiving of pilgrims, so there were always facilities for taking care of pilgrims. We would take our equivalent of sleeping bags and food, and spend the weekend in the various temples, various monasteries where

the pilgrims came. That was an experience we enjoyed very, very greatly.

During the period when Cath had been in the United States on her trip home, over the summer I had taken a long trip with four other friends, two young college teachers who were teaching in the YMCA business school, and two of the women who were teaching or doing other work in one of the mission schools there. This may have seemed a bit of an adventure. I was the official--what do you call it? We don't have them anymore.

Nathan: Chaperone?

Blaisdell: Chaperone. [chuckles] I must say that that trip which went to a Trappist monastery out beyond the end of the railway--and I don't remember what the distance was--maybe thirty, forty miles, something like that, through the hills, was an adventure. All our luggage we put on mules, and donkeys, and took our stuff along and camped out, usually along the way in monasteries, with the objective being the Trappist monastery, which was not really an unusual trip. It was a trail, really, the roughest of roads, where wheeled vehicles were not the usual thing; the wheeled vehicles there were the two-wheeled vehicles, not four-wheeled. The idea of a motorcar, no. This was all the simplest of transportation.

We had plenty of rain. We were crossing streams and our standard crossing procedure was that one would take a rope across. We would then swim the animals across with the luggage, and then the rest would follow, again being pulled across with the rope. So we did have our adventures.

We had very little of what I call western food. We were living off the country. We got to the monastery and there were a half dozen Belgian monks along with the Chinese who were two or three times that number. Their western food was very much appreciated. They had Belgian hare, so we were having rabbit. They had wonderful vegetables, which were not too common, certainly nothing in the way of fresh vegetables. There was always plenty of food, always Chinese dumplings and rice, so we were well fed, and had no complaints. There were plenty of vegetables but no salad-fresh vegetables. Monastery food was very nice, and a special treat, because following the good Belgian custom, they were also winemakers. So we had lovely wine while we were there. Unfortunately, we couldn't bring it back with us.

Going out and coming back was a trip of about two or three weeks. It was great fun. And it continued a custom that I was

used to from my days in school in Germany, when we had done so much walking. Anyhow, the trips that we made out of town, within a day of Peking, were usually by ricksha. Occasionally we would use donkeys.

Let's see. We had just gotten back from our trip. And it wasn't but a short time, really, after Cath got back, because I had one more teaching year and then we were ready to go home-- that meant that the next summer--was it May? I guess so, approximately. And Cath having done the Trans-Siberian that summer, we said, "Why don't we do the same thing?" Using my friendship again, I succeeded in getting a visa. We met the Soviet consul. He seemed to think we were satisfactory but I'm sure the reason was their friendship with the Chinese. This was my reading at the time, and fortunately we had a marvelous trip across Trans-Siberia. I'll tell you about that next time.

Nathan: Wonderful.

Trans-Siberian Railroad, Mukden to Moscow (1925)

Blaisdell: Let's get on the Trans-Siberian railroad on the way from Mukden to Moscow, a fascinating trip from a lot of angles. When we were picking up the train in Mukden, Catharine was reminded of her trip the previous summer, which we were in effect duplicating. As we went through the customs service the examination was very careful. We were entering the Soviet Union and everything had to be checked. I had no problem with passports.

Her story from passing through the previous summer had an amusing item. She was a crossword puzzle addict, and the crossword puzzle book, which was in her luggage for use on the train to pass the time, intrigued the customs inspector. The book was taken away and then brought back and left on the inspection counter. She waited to see what would happen; it came time to go along and the customs inspector had not handed back the book. But there it was.

It looked as though the train was about to be called. The Chinese porter looked at her, looked at the book, picked up the book, put it in her case, slammed the case closed, and said, "Let's go." Off they went. End of story. Because never again did we have any real trouble. That was just one of those things where apparently the customs inspector didn't know what to do. We guessed that there was a suspicion that the book

could be used for code purposes, and I suppose it could. But at least we had no problem.

Leaving China, the train was being hauled by a wood-burning engine, and most of the way across Siberia, wood was the fuel. On every platform we stopped, naturally, for water for the engine and also fuel, there were great piles of wood.

Nathan: Was this a steam engine?

Blaisdell: Yes. And they were using wood instead of coal. Wood was more plentiful, obviously cheaper. Among the many things to be remembered, probably the one that struck us most at the time was that we tried the dining car. There was a dining car just ahead of our car, which was the last car on the train. It was an out-of-date Wagon-Lit from the previous usage on the railway. And the other cars were all what was known as "hard." Wagon-Lit was soft. But the "hard" coaches were all third and fourth class, and they were simply hard benches. You would sleep on the up side or down side, whichever berth you were able to get hold of.

The food in the diner was good, but we found much better food on the platform, as the train would stop during the course of the day. Mostly, it was peasant women who brought food to the railway for sale to people who were on the train. They brought their home-cooked varieties of foods. It's possible to still remember the delicious baked chicken, delicious stuffed vegetables, so superior to anything on the train that there was just no comparison. We had expected that the food might not be quite as good as it actually was, and that we might be short of various things. We had taken a picnic basket with powdered coffee and tea, our dried prunes, canned fruit, and a few other things. We were very comfortable, and very well-fed on the Wagon-Lit. We had a sleeping compartment, and at the end of the car the porter had a compartment.

The train had toilet and sleeping facilities, and everything was very, very comfortable, first class, as you would expect on a typical French Wagon-Lit. But the important thing was that there was always hot water for tea.

As we came within, say 48 hours from Moscow, the porter started his particular collection of food, particularly eggs. As the peasants came to the train with food for sale, he would buy all their eggs. Looking into his compartment--the bed was covered with eggs, all for sale when we got to Moscow.

Nathan: I see. Were there other westerners on the train with you?

Blaisdell: I don't remember any others. There were Chinese, apparently Chinese officials. But other than that, I do not remember any.

Probably the reason I don't remember that is because the memory is blocked out by a more striking occurrence. We had passed Lake Baikal early in the morning, very beautiful, and we had gone on the next day about 24 hours. It was raining hard a lot of the way. We were going through woods most of the time; not much in the way of scenery, except for Baikal.

At 3 o'clock one morning, suddenly the train stopped with a big BOOM, a really big boom. Immediately, noise outside. I had a flashlight with me, and I went out to see what was going on and what the trouble was. Though there had been heavy rain, it had stopped; the engine was off the track, fallen on its side, and it had pulled over all of the "hard" cars. Obviously, people were injured everywhere. Our car and the diner had not left the tracks.

My flashlight seemed to be the only light available, because lights had gone off in the train. The crew of the train was hard at work trying to get the engineer out of the cab, which was on its side. With the use of my flash, they were successful pulling him out. He seemed to have no serious injury. But the number of people, as it turned out, was 10 killed, 40 injured. What to do? The diner became a hospital car for those who were injured.

We sat there. Immediately someone from the crew was up on one of the telegraph poles, and obviously had made contact with the next station. We sat there for the next 48 hours. Eventually a rescue crew came through, succeeded in removing the damaged cars, the engine, and so on. A new engine came, and those who were left for the remainder of the ride--we all went on--moved into the first town. We sat there for the rest of the 48 hours before we were able to make the next move. So eventually we got through and came to Moscow. We were a total of ten days on the trip.

Nathan: Were you in Russia when the train went off the track?

Blaisdell: Oh yes. This was halfway across Siberia. I still don't remember the names of the places. I would if I had been the kind of person that keeps notes and all of that sort of thing, and if I had been smart--but I was still learning my way. In fact, I have been doing that most of my life.

Nathan: It was enough of an adventure just the way it happened.

Stopover in Moscow

Blaisdell: We arrived in Moscow; we had acquaintances there. The acquaintances, knowing the train we were supposed to be on, of course were inquiring about us. As we got our luggage off the train, we were met by some official, I think, from the travel agency, who gave us hotel instructions. As we went through the station, there was something that was quite standard, normal in railway stations: a bulletin board with bulletins on it for passengers on the train. On the bulletin board there was a cablegram, marked "for Blaisdell," "inquiry concerning Blaisdell." It turned out to be a cable from my father and mother who were in London at the time. The cable read, "Were Blaisdells on Moscow train reported wrecked in Siberia?" We sent a telegram to let them know we were well.

When we went to the hotel, we were shown a room the size of a ballroom, one of the old, old hotels. Obviously our friends were watching for what happened. Knowing the routine, they knew the hotel we would be taken to. So we had breakfast and then we learned that our friends were there at the hotel to meet us.

There were in Moscow a few taxis, but the normal transportation was by horse-drawn vehicle. Our friends hired a droszki and we were taken to their home. At the hotel we learned very promptly as we were going to check out that we owed charges for a day's service. So although we hadn't slept there overnight, we paid for our day and went to our friends' home where we stayed.

The friend and his wife had come to Moscow at the time of the International Welfare Famine Relief Group that had been headed by President Hoover. The group officially left, but for various reasons, this couple were allowed to stay. The place where they stayed was very comfortable. We were made very comfortable, and we stayed for ten days.

Blaisdell: Was this an apartment?

Nathan: No, it was a house. There were several rooms which they were making available for other visitors. At the time, two of the visitors were American newspaper reporters: one for the Christian Science Monitor, the other for the International Hearst Service, which of course was available to all Hearst papers. Those were the two other guests. The Hearst man seemed to be the only individual that we ran into who was able to get hold of a taxi. But we were very comfortable. We did

quite a little walking around in Moscow. In those days walking was about all you could do, unless you took a droshki.

The one factory that we visited was a carryover from the old days, and it made chocolate candy. The butter which came in for the manufacture of the chocolate bars came in big firkins, tubs. Interestingly enough, the tubs each had in the base a form that caused an impression in the butter, a royal head. The guide who was showing us around called our attention to this, and he said, "We still have some things left over from the previous regime." It was interesting.

The conversation with the newspaper people was particularly enlightening. The newspaperman from the Monitor had married a Russian lady, a very beautiful woman. They had been there for a couple of years. Because he was well-acquainted through the paper, and a friend of things new particularly the Soviet Union, I expected that we would hear quite a little of friendly attitudes, and the attitudes were very friendly. But her attitude, when it came to the question of the quality of Soviet life, was very frank. "Please don't be misled by the friendliness which you will find personally. This is not the experience of those from the previous regime who are still here. They are not happy with what's going on."

Soviets' New Economic Policy (1925)

Blaisdell: Of course, looking back on it now, we have to remember this was 1925. This was just the beginning of the NEP, the New Economic Policy under Lenin. The New Economic Policy was even making contracts with foreign industrialists. What's the name of our famous San Francisco businessman, the biggest businessman in the Soviet Union?

Nathan: Armand Hammer?

Blaisdell: Armand Hammer was one of those who was at that time being used by the Soviet Union, as he has been ever since. At that time, it was the beginning of his pencil business. The big business was the foodstuffs that he discovered it was possible to bring in and sell to the government. So his first big business was a carryover from the Soviet relief programs that had come from the time of Hoover. The fact that this was going on was something I knew. I say, "I knew." I learned. I did not meet him, nor did I have any direct contact with any of the Hammer undertakings.

My friends, having been there for some length of time, having come with the Relief Administration and having stayed on--my question was, of course, why did they stay on? Well, as it turned out, my friend's wife, a Russian woman, was a breeder of Doberman Pinscher dogs. They said they were permitted to stay because the KGB was interested in Doberman Pinscher dogs. Anyhow, this was an interesting item.

Nathan: How long did your friends stay in Moscow?

Blaisdell: They stayed for another year after we had left, but we never had much contact with them afterwards. They actually lived down in Palo Alto, and at one time he was thinking of running for governor of California. But this never developed.

Transit Visa and Madame Krupskaya

Blaisdell: Anyhow, our transit visas were coming due and we were due to leave, so I went to the railway station to get our tickets. We were going back through Poland and then to Berlin where I had friends from my days when I had been a student there. At the station they looked at the passport and said, "Yes, that's fine, but we can't sell you any tickets until you get your permit to leave Moscow." I said, "I know nothing about the necessity for a special permit." They said, "Oh, that's just normal. You don't leave Moscow without a permit." I said, "Where do I get a permit?" And they said, "You go to the Moscow Soviet."

I don't remember how I got to the Moscow Soviet--probably by droshki. Anyhow, I got there and it was early afternoon. Well, there was no one who spoke English. I spoke no Russian; my German seemed to be no good, and Chinese was no good either, but the important thing was to find somebody. Finally there was a young woman. She was Jewish; she spoke Yiddish. Well, I had lived in New York for quite some time. I knew plenty of German. Because of my memories of Yiddish in New York plus my German, she and I succeeded in exchanging information and she found out what I wanted. We finally understood each other. She said, "The trouble is we close on Friday at 2:00, and it is past official hours, so there is nothing you can do until Monday."

So I walked back to my friend's place, and I said, "What do we do?" My friend said, "Let me have your passports, and I

will see what I can do." So on Friday afternoon, away he went. He came back later in the afternoon, at suppertime, and he said, "I don't know whether this will work or not, but I've taken care of it." I said, "What do we do?" He said, "Tomorrow morning we will go to the country for the weekend."

So the next morning, we took pajamas and nightie, in a bag, and went off to the country on the train. In addition to their house they had a dacha, and it was a lovely weekend. It turned out that the weather was perfect. It was late spring, you see. My memory says late April, early May, and the spring was upon us. Anyhow, it was lovely.

We got back Monday morning, and my friend immediately went off to see what he could do about the permit to leave Moscow. He came back, not too long after, and he said, "Well, everything is OK. The problem is that you were not supposed to have stopped in Moscow, you were supposed to keep on going, since you have only a transit visa, but everything is now in order." I said, "What did you do?" He said, "Well, there is an organization here known as the Soviet-American Friendship Association. I decided that my best bet was to try the Friendship Association and see what to do. Now your passport has been visaed, your permit is attached to the passport, and I have your railway tickets. You're set to go." So the next day we were ready to go and were off.

But the story was not finished until we learned that the President of the Soviet-American Friendship Association was no less than Madame Krupskaya. And Krupskaya's name was unknown to me, but Krupskaya was Lenin's widow. So the next day we were off.

Friends in Berlin and Paris

Blaisdell: The next stop was Berlin. There we had no problem at all, because we stayed with the friend with whom I had lived when I was in school in Germany, and with whom I had kept in touch over the years. Catharine and I stayed in the apartment where I had lived, and we were there for several days. My friend and his family, the Winters, reacquainted me with Berlin, and we all went to various restaurants. At that time, my friend was a student in medical school. I now know that he was using drugs, and I learned later in letters from his mother that he had died when he was working in medical welfare, and that his death was related to his drug problem.

During our visit, we had a very good time, and Berlin was not much different than it was in the days when I had been there.

Nathan: Did the standard of living look similar?

Blaisdell: This was 1925. The war was over, of course, so there had been a considerable recovery. Germany was now a republic. We had been through the 20's, and those early 20's were pretty ghastly. For me, I had been in Berlin in the winter of 1920 or 1921, for just a quick trip. I was going to London; on the way I had stopped and gone to Berlin, and then had gone on to London where I was at some meetings that were associated with the Student Volunteer Movement. There is very little to report on that, except the comparison between that visit to Berlin in 1920-1921, and the later visit in 1925, which was just an entirely different story. The earlier visit was at the beginning of that postwar Depression, and the early 20's poverty was on every doorstep. Then there had been the bottom of the 1922-1923 Depression, so the effects of that inflation era were still obvious.

By 1925 there had been real recovery. This was the beginning of the early Hitler era. By 1925 the husband of Mrs. Winter had died. He was considerably older than she. A combination of her son's income as a medical practitioner and her old age pension enabled them to live fairly comfortably.

That was a very short visit, so there was very little we could do. We went on; we were overdue in Paris. And there we met again our friend from China days, Miss Miles, a renewal of a friendship which was to last for the rest of our lives. She at that time was spending the summer in Paris where she had friends. We stayed at the same hotel, and we spent six weeks in Paris, spending practically all the money we had, getting ready to go home and trying to find out what the next steps were going to be. The little I had been in Paris as a student in Berlin was very, very short, maybe 48 hours, so it was spent visiting the places good tourists visit.

Two places particularly which I have continued to visit many times since: the cathedral at Chartres, which is one of the places that I just don't fail to visit; the other is in the heart of Paris near the Court of Justice [[Palais de Justice], the Sainte Chappelle. They are the two most beautiful things in Paris in my book, except for the collection of paintings which are at the Louvre. Anyhow, those are spots that

Catharine and I went back to--I've forgotten how many times; numerous times when we went to Europe.

Nathan: I wondered about the aspect of the people in Paris. What was their living standard like at that time?

Blaisdell: Well, Germany and France at that time--as I remember it, there was very little difference. The winner and the loser of wars remain as always--both lose. Sometimes it is one way and sometimes it's another, but the living is never the same afterwards, even after World War II in the United States, in all our wealth. We were better off at the end than we were in the beginning in the United States, with all the costs of the war, because of the changes which would take place. But neither France nor Germany were at that time, both having gone through their inflations. Those losses that we had in the US were losses of life, and not of material.

Are there other questions that occur to you?

Nathan: After your experiences in China and then your rather extended trip to Europe, I wondered whether you had gained some insights that you brought back with you to the United States, as you were getting ready to teach at Columbia.

Blaisdell: Yes. Well first, the contrast between China and Western Europe. Even the low standard of living in Western Europe in those years was so superior to the basic standard of life in China that the comparison just won't hold. In the winters in Western Europe, even cold weather, we did not see people who died in the night and were picked up on the streets in the morning as in Peking. That was not Western Europe, it was not what was to be found, even in the Soviet Union. The suffering in the Soviet Union after the revolution--there was plenty and the standard of living was low. Here again, the well-to-do in China were very well-to-do.

My experience in relief work in Peking, which I've referred to, was a different story. At least the comparisons were very sharp and very clear, and they would remain clear for a long, long time.

Realistic comparisons can only now be made with China. There is a great improvement overall from those days in the 1920s, but still not too much. The standards of Western Europe were just so superior. Of course, Western Europe's complete recovery after World War II is still another story. It is not difficult for me to remember these series of living standards from the pre-World War I days, when I was in school there in

1913-1914. Or from that visit in Europe for the couple of weeks in the winter of '21. Or between the next visit in '25 and the following visit in 1937.

In 1937 there was the trip when I was working with the Social Security Administration, in 1937 and then '45.

Nathan: A very interesting experience. You had spoken of your interest in how people made a living and your interest in economics. When you came back to Columbia in 1925, did your experience in Asia and Europe inform your attitudes?

Blaisdell: I think the amazing part is the way I just took for granted that the West lived well. The United States lived well. Even the experience which I had had in New York City in those years from 1919--those three years there in New York City when I had lived in settlement houses, and became acquainted with standards of home life and didn't regard it too favorably. But in those days I had been very comfortable. I still had an attitude that, "Gee, I'm not earning very much, but I go to the movies, I go to the theater, I do this, I do that." It was a standard of living of the graduate student who is also earning a little something on the side. There is so much to be had reasonably, that even having gone to what was the New York School of Social Work, I still didn't understand poverty. I still don't.

Nathan: That's poignant. Maybe Americans don't understand poverty?

Blaisdell: We don't understand poverty. And now we have a president [Ronald Reagan] who doesn't understand poverty very well. So at least he and I have one thing in common.

Job-Hunting in New York

Blaisdell: But we're headed back now to New York to find a job. The job was the important thing. We came to my wife's parents' home, which was in North Ford, Connecticut, just north of New Haven. Her father had been the postmaster of the village, he was the operator of the general store, he was the backbone of the church, and he was a leading Republican in town.

Nathan: Did you consider yourself a Democrat or a Republican at this point?

Blaisdell: I had no political ideas of any variety. I was an "Independent." New York, in the years that I had been there as a graduate student doing my masters' work, New York was not a city that one was proud of. With Jimmy Walker and Tammany Hall and company, the reputation wasn't one of which one could be very proud. And upstate New York, known as Republican, was known primarily for not being much better than Tammany Hall. So my thinking was pretty largely in terms of--there's not much to choose between Democrats and Republicans. Maybe upstate has a few more well-to-do people, not only upstate, but also New England, where my wife had gone to school.

Did we say anything about Catharine at Teachers College?

Nathan: Not yet. That was part of Columbia? It was Teachers College at Columbia?

Blaisdell: Catharine, who had gotten her Bachelor's degree at Teachers College, continued with her studies until she received her master's degree in psychology, also at Teachers College. Since she was always looking for work, she couldn't be kept idle, so as I mentioned, she received a job with the industrial division of the city YWCA. She kept this assignment for some years.

IV DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS: TEACHING AT COLUMBIA COLLEGE
(1925-1933)

Nathan: Would you like to comment on your time at Columbia, to touch lightly on that period? Perhaps you would like to say a few words about your dissertation on the Federal Trade Commission, and then we can move along into government, if you like.

You had just come back from your extensive travels, and were teaching economics at Columbia from 1925-1933. You got your Ph.D.--

Blaisdell: In 1932. The receipt of the Ph.D. also gave me a professorship, as an assistant professor. At Columbia the tenure goes with the degree. I think it's a three-year tenure as assistant professor, and then presumably you move on from there.

Keynes: Economics, Government, and Private Enterprise (1925)

Nathan: Then and now you were thinking about economics? Good. I was interested in the Economist article on Austin Robinson and what he had to say, and wondered whether you wanted to comment about him.

Blaisdell: Well, the reason I was interested in Austin Robinson was that there was so much in what he did and said that parallels my own thinking. For example, Robinson seems to have been spurred by Keynes at the time when he left the Paris Versailles Treaty negotiations and wrote the book that was published at that time. It was that book that, more than anything else, made me want to go back to the university and go into economics.

Nathan: This was Keynes's book that you're referring to?

Blaisdell: That was Keynes's book. Robinson apparently reacted just the way I did, as he described his activities and the story of Robinson is told here in The Economist. There was so much in it that literally paralleled my own thinking over these many years. I got to read that book of Keynes's in 1923. In one sense you might say it was a turnaround incident that established why I wanted to go on in economics when I returned home.

Nathan: I see. Robinson made a couple of observations, that government and currency regulating authorities must get into the process. They can't just set the rules and stand back. He also says that the economy does not necessarily tend toward full employment?

Blaisdell: Well, Keynes was in the middle of it. I was talking this weekend with someone who had been one of his students at Cambridge, when he was at Kings College. We were sort of reminiscing about Keynes, while Keynes was at Cambridge. My friend said, "Yes. In the middle of the Depression he made two million pounds for Kings College."

Nathan: Amazing.

Blaisdell: Well, this was Keynes, with his understanding of the British economy--emphasis, British economy. In fact, in any national economy, not international, Keynesian economics is superior. There was this fascination that he had with the way markets operate, and the way he played the market for the benefit of Kings College where he was theoretically the lecturer. Anyhow, as you can guess, Keynes happens to be one of the people in economics whom I admire.

Robinson's approach is different from Keynes. Keynes and Robinson, on their paralleling, separated in such a way that you might say while Robinson was interested, as he describes it, other British economists were concerned at that time with the way in which the government operated as contrasted with the way the private economy operated. The question was what the relationship of the government could be to the private economy. Robinson says, British economists at that time were all impressed by this relationship, and he, too, was impressed.

But when we think of it, the man who really was impressed was Keynes, because it was Keynes who did something about what the other people agreed somebody should do. Keynes seemed to have a peculiar insight at the time of the Versailles Treaty negotiations when he was a member of the British delegation. He was so disgusted with the behavior of all of the Europeans

as well as President Wilson, that he had to write a book to tell what was wrong. He, of course, left the delegation.

It did make a real difference in my thinking and in my action after I came home and went to Columbia at that time (1925). As it turned out, I was bitten by the same bug that had bitten the British economists, that there was something important in what government did that was related to what the private enterprise market and economy was doing. It was that interest, really, which governed my next eighteen years.

Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West

Blaisdell: To back up a little, I came back to New York, and I was looking for a job. One of my friends with whom I had lived and worked in Allahabad, India was now living in New York and teaching in the Economics Department at Columbia College. So I went to see him just as, "Here's a friend and I'd like to see him again, and maybe he'll have a hunch as to what I could do."

Sure enough, he did. He said, "I want you to meet one of my friends here in philosophy." The philosophy friend, Professor John Coss, turned out to be one of the organizers and supervisors of the freshman course at Columbia College called "An Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West," which had grown out of part of the training that was done during World War I for GIs. The teachers of this course happened to be the Columbia people who had developed the course.

I'm going to close this off right now. But this was the introduction to Columbia. I first was to have one course; before I went to work, I was to get two courses.

My friend from India, Professor William Weld, was the one who gave me the introduction, which carried with it the possibility of an appointment. I was offered a half-time appointment, where I would be teaching the freshman course, the new Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West. That course became almost a trademark of Columbia College, and still remains one of the outstanding freshman courses. A half-time appointment lasted less than six weeks. A full-time appointment became available, and for the seven or so years that I taught at Columbia College that course was my great love.

Nathan: Did you write your own course?

Blaisdell: Oh no. In fact, one of the important things about this course was the way it was organized. The director of the course, Professor John Coss, was a man with great imagination. As I mentioned, during World War I, he had the responsibility for the training of GIs as background for why they were in the service. He was then a teacher of the military service; the program is seldom referred to but was a very important part of GIs' understanding why the United States was at war.

Out of this program in the military, Columbia really undertook this course for freshmen. Well, if one wants to think of that origin, one only has to remember that there was President Wilson, and it was one of those things in which President Wilson had a hand. The important thing, though, from my standpoint, was that it was organized on the basis of solid support by the dean of Columbia College, who saw to it that in addition to Professor Coss as the director, and History Professor Harry Corman as co-director, each of the social science departments contributed its own instructors. Several of the departments in Columbia College contributed professors. The syllabus was worked out jointly with the twenty-five to thirty-five teachers who participated. Year after year, as different teachers left they were replaced by new teachers. The syllabus got changed with the changing of the times, and with the sense of importance that different teachers felt the syllabus required. These were all talked out in joint meetings which were held under the chairmanship of the director of the course.

The course was an essential part of the life of Columbia College, meeting five times a week in the freshman year. Those who participated became proud of their association with it. This includes me. We could well be, because senior after senior, as he left the college and was asked about the importance of the work that he did in Columbia College, gave as his comment: "This was the best course that I had at Columbia." I have retained my enthusiasm for it all the years that I have been at the University of California, with a great disappointment that nothing of the sort has happened here.

Influence and Career Advice from Senior Professors

Blaisdell: Well, in addition to Professor Coss, the senior professors in the Graduate School in Economics, and particularly in law,

helped me in selecting the work that I was going to do. Among the younger men with whom I worked as teachers of the freshman course was Charles Gulick, professor of economics at U.C. Berkeley who at one time tried to persuade me to come to the University of California. But I had other things that seemed to be on my plate at the time. Anyhow, there was Gulick; Professor Horace Taylor, who was one of the senior people in the teaching group, and Professor John Fennelly, Ph.D. from Princeton, who became my office mate and who some years later became associated with me in my work at the War Production Board in Washington.

Those who had most influence on my thinking were John Maurice Clark, Professor Henry R. Seager, labor economics, and Professor Rexford G. Tugwell, who became chairman of the Economics Department in the college, not the university. Professor Seager originally became my thesis supervisor, and then when he died his place was taken by Dr. Arthur R. Burns who was particularly influential in the way in which the thesis was finally finished and published. There were numerous other people also whom I will refrain from naming. But I think I have noted those who were most important to me.

Oh, I have neglected to mention Professor Wesley C. Mitchell, whose work in business cycles in those years was on the frontier of economic studies, and in some ways remains among the great names of the students of business cycles. He later joined the staff of the National Resources Planning Board as a consultant. At that time, his influence on my thinking was very great.

Nathan: That was a star-studded group you had. You were very good about picking people, weren't you?

Blaisdell: I was fortunate.

V ROOSEVELT AND TRUMAN ADMINISTRATIONS, AND THE WORLD WAR II
ERA (1933-1951)

Preparation for Government Service

Nathan: Would you care to say whether your study related to the Federal Trade Commission--called "An Experiment in the Control of Business"--whether that informed some of your later interests and your work in government?

Controls, Government, and the Private Economy*

There were considerable influences in my work at the college, which later sorted themselves out. For example I began to realize the difference between corporations and industries. Not only were there legal differences subject to judicial control but there were the problems of collective controls by groups of corporations, and their split between different industries. There was the question of private control of a particular group of corporations as contrasted with government control of the same corporations. Above everything else, I was learning about control or lack of control by law or courts. My early thinking had given me the idea that courts thought differently than Congress and the executive branch. Over the years in agency after agency I learned more and more of the refinements of those differences and dissimilarities--namely, I began to understand the places of government and private economy.

*Professor Blaisdell added these written comments after reading the transcript of his interviews.

Consumer Interests and Small Business

Blaisdell: At the time, particularly in the years immediately after I went to Washington, I fell into work dealing with consumers' interests. Obviously my work with the Federal Trade Commission had dealt directly with consumers' interests, but more than anything else, it stimulated me to do a lot of new thinking, particularly on the significance of small business. This led to other things as time went on, and shortly after I went to Washington, to the very rich association with then Justice Louis D. Brandeis.

Brandeis, of course, had very little use for Roosevelt's ideas on planning or particularly large-scale business organization and operation, which was apparent in his National Recovery Administration and in the work of both National Recovery and in the Triple A [Agricultural Adjustment Administration]. I was very unhappy in the work in both those institutions, largely because I felt it was of little impact on what we were doing. And in fact, some of the things where we did have an impact I do regret considerably, including those that I think became of great importance in later years in connection with the independence of the Philippines.

Those interests leave me, still, with usefulness in so many different places where I have worked during those years.

When I later went to the Department of Commerce in my last years, I had the ability, the opportunity to try to persuade the various people in government, both congressional and in the Department of State, to become interested in small business. That occurred very often. The Secretary of Commerce (the successor to Mr. Harriman while I was still there), Mr. Charles Sawyer, was one of those who had such a major interest. He was always regretful of his inability to stimulate the kind of interest he felt would be important, namely in the adjusted taxation of small businesses and the permission for small businesses to invest their earnings in their businesses as development.

There were many other instances, particularly during wartime when quotas became important and in a whole series of activities, both in Washington and in London. Again the regulation of business and its relation to government came-- and I found in it not only interest but commitment to this phase of American economic life, particularly. Also it ties in with the regulation of agriculture, but the consumer interest on the agricultural side never received the attention it should have received.

The Purpose of Quotas, and Consumer Protection

Nathan: Would you care to talk about why you did not approve of quota systems?

Blaisdell: Quota systems can be used as a very good device for administrative purposes. The question is, what are the basic purposes of the quotas being used? I must say that I didn't feel as strongly then as I feel now. The question was, how do you make moves which will be of importance to the development of American agriculture? Quotas were a tool for a particular type of agricultural development, rather than a tool for consumer protection.

Later, the issues of consumer protection became very important, particularly during World War II. Then came the quota systems that were developed with the purposes of protection of consumer interests which were being infringed upon in particular by military production. Then came the attempt to find the proper dividing lines between the civilian and military interests when highest priority had to be given to military. But the recognition of the significance of consumer support, if there was going to be adequate military production, raised a whole series of questions that had to receive attention.

During those years where I was closely associated with all of those activities at the War Production Board, my thinking clarified, particularly on the question, "To what purpose are the quotas going to be used?" This calls for a lot, not only of economic, but social sense of priorities and objectives.

The distinction between devices for achieving objectives and the objectives became so important; this is often forgotten. This is true particularly when we're talking about the control of monopoly, when we're talking about the control of imports.

This applies also with regard to sugar quotas, and is also significant to quotas with many other commodities. As both the AAA legislation and that of the National Recovery Administration developed, quotas were accepted as a standard practice in regulatory development of various parts of particular industries.

Nathan: Are you now talking about production quotas?

Blaisdell: Yes. In the sugar industry, sugar was becoming accepted as part of the development of crop rotation, particularly in the

temperate zone. However, beet sugar was more expensive in different geographic areas.

[Nathan: Just a moment, I think I should close the door because we may pick up some outside noise.]

[Tape interruption]

Nathan: You were speaking about beet sugar?

Blaisdell: Yes. As I said, in the sugar industry, sugar beets were becoming accepted as part of the development of crop rotation, particularly in the temperate zone. The control of beets and beet sugar became an important part of the legislative activities in the Congress as well as in the Department of Agriculture. Jointly the two put together what eventually became the Costigan Sugar Act. Senator Costigan was a senator from Colorado, one of the states in which sugar beets were very important.

In the United States cane sugar was available only in Florida, Louisiana, in Hawaii and the Philippines, at that time part of the United States. So in deciding on the distribution of availability of sugar, it could be limited by quota with regard to domestic parts of the total sugar industry, and for imports such as those from Cuba and other Caribbean islands, as well as Puerto Rico. Thus by delegation to the Department of Agriculture, the industry came under close regulatory control.

In the sugar industry as it has developed over the last years since the original legislation, the industry has become more and more dominated by the quota system, including the practical exclusion of Cuban sugar, that of the other Caribbean islands, as well as a close control on Philippine sugar once the Philippines became independent. So the net result as far as the United States is concerned, is that the American sugar industry is practically out of the so-called world market for sugar. And at the moment a very considerable portion of the Cuban sugar goes to the Soviet Union, as part of their negotiations.

In referring to the quota system it is worth noting that not only were quotas an important part of the proposals under the National Recovery Administration in different industries, but also within the Department of Agriculture for other agricultural industries. From time to time quotas became the control mechanism rather than other devices. It is because of this wider utilization that I note this particularly.

I note it also because, whereas tariffs between nations used to be the dominant device for the control of exports and imports, of recent years quotas have become much more common

than tariff devices as the control device. They have become available and utilized between the United States and numerous other countries. At the present time there are informal quotas on Japanese motor cars, on steel shipped in from Europe, partly under close control of the European countries.

However, the important thing is that quota devices have become so important in the international trade field that in later years when I was associated with the Department of Commerce after World War II, quotas became a still further prominent device as the United States was the principal exporter of not only agricultural commodities but many other items in international trade.

Nathan: You have had a long interest in protecting the concerns of consumers. I wondered how you view the growth of quotas with respect to consumers' interests.

Blaisdell: I should refer again to the sugar industry in thinking particularly of consumer interest, since probably the most efficient country in the production of sugar is Cuba. Cuban sugar could be available to the American consumer at prices probably a quarter of what they are now, as regulated by the Department of Agriculture in the United States. I have noted previously that the American sugar industry has practically been excluded from the world sugar market. This is the dominant fact that we have to think of in regard to consumers.

I wonder, is this sufficient?

Nathan: I think that wraps it up in a very concise way.

Blaisdell: Good. Well, those were the three things that I managed to scribble. Now, let's see here--let me put these pieces of paper together.

Nathan: Certainly.

[Pause]

Trade or Protection: Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act

Blaisdell: At that time one of the items which was of particular interest to me was in the State Department, with which I had no direct responsibilities. The secretary of state had one predominant interest in his secretaryship, and that was free trade, and how to get free trade. Secretary Cordell Hull had been the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee when he was in

Congress. He knew more about tariffs than any other living man, and his question was, "How can we reduce tariffs?" It was "good" economics.

Nathan: Was this agreeable to you?

Blaisdell: Very. In other words, we would be stimulating more trade, instead of stimulating protection. We as a nation had found out that the log-rolling in Congress was so great that almost anyone who wanted protection could get protection: agriculture, particularly, would get protection; the same was true of the manufacturing industry. The secretary persuaded President Roosevelt that he should be allowed to have a very free hand in the Congress with regard to tariffs. Within limits, particularly agriculture, Secretary Hull had very little influence.

However, he did succeed in persuading the Congress, with the approval of the President, to the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, which became the groundwork for American international trade control from then until now. It is still an exceedingly important element in the way tariffs are reduced, because it was by matching contributions by foreign countries to other American commodities that you could get the reductions both ways. This system became the basis for American policy all during that period, and as I said, since. There have been so many other influences on international trade since then.

In the Congress there are serious questions over the act. Will it again be extended? However, that is not a story that we were concerned with at the time. It is important, though, that we remember that the one place where Secretary Hull's influence didn't flow was in agriculture, and agriculture was practically eliminated from reciprocal trade and negotiation. Today, even in some cases where it does not legally apply, the act becomes useful as part of a bargaining relationship with other countries. But that's another story.

Tugwell, Wallace, and the La Follettes

Blaisdell: I haven't dealt with a number of these questions that we are thinking about. I think probably we had better deal with some of them in more detail, possibly before we talk about the government work. Now let's see--do I need more on Professor Tugwell?

Nathan: Only if you would care to comment on him; perhaps that you worked together for Governor Al Smith and Franklin Roosevelt-- if that is of interest--and how you dipped your toe into politics.

Blaisdell: Maybe I should say just a word on that. While at Columbia I was not politically oriented, especially. My interests were in economics. They had grown out of the various years where I had been working in different parts of the world on different types of things, and I was trying to become something of an economics scholar.

However, the interest particularly in tariffs and in foreign trade led to work in two political campaigns. Professor Tugwell had become associated with Governor Al Smith, and when Smith ran for president and then four years later when Franklin Roosevelt was running for president, one of the things Tugwell asked me to do was to prepare materials that could be used by Governor Smith and incidentally, four years later, could be used also by Governor Roosevelt in his speech-making during the campaign.

There is one amusing item that comes out of that particular bit of activity on the political side. The New York Times on the front page in a box one morning during Roosevelt's campaign published a few lines duplicating some of one of Al Smith's speeches and the Roosevelt speech. It had to do with foreign trade and tariffs, and it happened to be part of the material that I had originally written for Al Smith.

Nathan: And you recognized it immediately. [laughter] It must have been good.

Blaisdell: Tugwell was a very, very thoughtful and helpful person who later, when he went to Washington, became Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. He was responsible for inviting me to come down and find work if I was interested, which as it turned out, counted for eighteen years of my life.

I worked with Secretary Henry Wallace. He was not only a journalist--he was editor of Wallace's Farmer--but he was also a professional statistician. He was a plant geneticist, one of the inventors of hybrid corn. He was administering a program which had been invented very largely by agricultural interests of various types. His own interest in Iowa was corn and hogs. He was known as the inventor of the corn-hog cycle. But he wasn't particularly in favor of any of the programs that had been proposed for agricultural recovery and the reduction of production in order to raise prices. This didn't fit either with his free trade economics or with his interests as an agriculturalist. However, politically the different groups who

were struggling for some kind of a program had been brought together and collectively had worked out what became the AAA program.

Wallace, as one of those who had been extremely influential in the thinking that went into the program, was invited by Roosevelt to become Secretary of Agriculture. This had an additional advantage, because he was a liberal Republican in Iowa, and had been one of the leading Republican liberals of the time. As it turned out, of course, there were a number of Republican liberals or liberal Republicans, whichever one wants--and they were very important in the so-called New Deal when it came to legislation. The Republican influence in the Congress from the Middle West was very powerful in many, many directions.

On the trade side, agriculture is still a heavy burden on taxes and on government expenditures. It has been over the years except during World War II and the immediate years following, when the questions of agricultural support for foreign purposes became a story with different emphases.

Let's see. [looking at list of topics] There's Wallace. We come to Ezekial, Bean, Wellman, and so on. This is another series of people, under different activities.

Nathan: Would you rather deal with them in another context?

Blaisdell: I think so. We'll come to agriculture a little bit later. Yes. The New Deal, we'll do more on that.

Nathan: That is wonderful. To move along, you had alluded to the Democrats helping to oust Robert La Follette in favor of Joseph McCarthy?

Blaisdell: Yes. Have I mentioned that?

Nathan: No, just in passing, not on the tape.

Blaisdell: Well, in this group of midwest liberals, Republicans particularly, was the La Follette family. Robert La Follette during World War I was the one senator who voted "No" at the time we went into World War I. He voted against American participation. He was of that group of Middle Westerners--his son, Robert La Follette, Jr., later became senator also. During the New Deal era he became a full-strength supporter of most of the issues that Roosevelt was interested in and wanted, and was a very, very strong supporter of Roosevelt on many different things. His brother Philip became a Progressive Governor of Wisconsin. The La Follettes were Progressives and established the Progressive Party, which meant that he was not

a favorite among Republican conservatives nor Democratic conservatives.

So after La Follette, Jr., had been senator for two terms and was running for a third term, it is not difficult to find where the opposition to him was to be; not only conservative Republicans, but also conservative Democrats. Not surprisingly, except for those who had never followed the Progressive movement, when McCarthy's supporters were successful in outvoting La Follette's, La Follette disappeared from Washington politics. The La Follette brothers and their influence in Washington for many years practically disappeared, except for what they had done in the way of influencing the government of Wisconsin. Wisconsin has remained one of the states which, in the Brandeisian tradition, stayed with small business and states' rights.

Mrs. Roosevelt

Blaisdell: I was going to do Mrs. Roosevelt.

Nathan: Good.

Blaisdell: Here it is. [looking at material on Eleanor Roosevelt] I think we will let this run as I've dictated it, and then add to it if that seems necessary. Particularly the story which I'd like to relate has to do with her speaking before a group of industrial women in the South who were invited to hear her after work. My friend who told me this story was listening while Mrs. Roosevelt spoke and after her talk, she noted that one of the women looked very interested. My friend said to her, "How did you like Mrs. Roosevelt's talk?" The person who had heard it said, "Mrs. Roosevelt--she makes me proud I'm a woman."

This story could be repeated in any number of occasions, but I include it primarily because Mrs. Roosevelt was indeed a very great person.

Some Government Posts

Nathan: Yes. We are now in the Washington years with the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. Just by way of a very short introduction, I noticed that you worked in the NRA Consumers Advisory Board; the AAA (Agricultural Adjustment

Administration); Resettlement Administration; Social Security Board; Securities and Exchange Commission; National Resources Planning Board; Mission for Economic Affairs, Department of Commerce--that's just some of your activities in Washington. So we will now go back and talk as you like from the beginning, which looks to me like the Consumers Advisory Board of the NRA?

Blaisdell: Did we do the Consumers Council, AAA?

Nathan: No, we did not do that.

Blaisdell: We should say a word about that before the Consumers Advisory Board of NRA.

Nathan: Fine.

Blaisdell: When I went to Washington first, it looked as though the immediate relationship would be with the general counsel of AAA, as economic advisor. This was a trial go with Jerome Frank, who was the general counsel to the administrator. That position was exceedingly important as the AAA developed and the various challenges to its programs came about. I was there only for a few weeks before--being a temporary summer appointee--I was transferred to the Consumers Council office. The Consumers Council was a brand-new administrative bureau which was supposed to look after the interests of consumers in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. The fact, the view that it was a seemingly hopeless venture was not shared by many of the participants in AAA, although in my mind it was a hopeless venture.

Nathan: Why did you think it was hopeless?

Blaisdell: As I saw the AAA, it was at that time primarily a program for raising prices by reducing supplies. My conviction was that increasing supplies were essential in a society which had such great lacks in the distribution of income, particularly among poor people. The poverty was recognized on every hand since another part of the Roosevelt administration was dealing with, "How do you increase distribution of income among poor people?"

The director of the bureau, Dr. Frederick Howe, was an old Democrat from Cleveland, Ohio, a close friend of the Mayor of Cleveland. Dr. Howe at the time was in Western Europe, looking at the Hitler regime. It's difficult, after World War II, to remember that Hitler was looked upon as a real revolutionary who was primarily interested in the well-being of the people. Dr. Howe's primary interest at the time was in the Hitler Youth Movement. He was so strongly impressed by that that he lent his support in the Roosevelt administration to what became the American Youth Movement at the time. This was something that

Mrs. Roosevelt was particularly interested in, and the program of the Youth Movement, both private and public, received a great deal of support. At one time, with the financing of the CIA, representatives were sent to Helsinki for a World Conference on Youth Affairs.

I was named as acting director of the Consumers Council, without the faintest idea of what I was supposed to do. I might interpose at this point that college teachers who came to Washington at the time were often extremely ignorant on what they were supposed to do. Looking for qualified social scientists at that time was particularly difficult because there were no civil service positions in social science, except by accident.

Social Science Jobs in the Civil Service

Blaisdell: This drew me into another activity for which I had no official responsibility of any kind. Along with a number of my friends, we volunteered to work with the Civil Service Commission in the establishment of social science positions which they would then advertise and try to secure candidates.

There was one experience associated with this--which I have found in talking with various political scientists from time to time over the years--to have had considerable interest. It had to do with a woman who was the head of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor. Her bureau had the reputation for being one of the ablest in government, and as a sample of good governmental activities, we interviewed her on the way she succeeded in arranging for good civil servants.

The story was really quite simple. She indicated that she had never appointed anyone off the civil service lists whom she hadn't named to the list. In those years top appointments could be made from the top three on the civil service list. She went on to explain how she got them on the civil service list: namely, when the Civil Service Commission announced its examination for people for a particular position, it was from that list that she had planned to draw her appointees. Then, knowing every qualified individual in the country, she wrote to those whom she thought might qualify and suggested, if they were interested, that they might file for the examination. Usually when the list came out they would be among the top three. It was a bureaucrat at work, in this case a lady at her best. From this practice she had developed one of the most outstanding bureaus in Washington.

We weren't bold enough nor able enough to carry through on her practice, because our practice was to persuade the Civil Service Commission to announce the examinations, and then if possible to participate in the review of the applicants for appointment. This, of course, being a part-time, after-work activity, none of us was able to give a great deal of time to that. But it did have its influence and the Civil Service Commission did announce its examination for appointments in the social science field.

Nathan: Were there applicants?

Blaisdell: Oh yes, many applicants. The net results, I think, with which our activity had something to do, was that there were a great many appointees, and the practice was established of regular announcement of social service appointees on the lists of civil service. This practice, of course, still continued under later civil service regulations and laws.

Nathan: Did you ever find out what you were supposed to do for the Consumers Council?

Blaisdell: No, I never did. I was never informed at all. I should, however, add to what I indicated, just as an illustration of how ignorant many of us were. We discovered after the first month when no salary checks were received that no appointments had ever been made. Nobody knew how to make an appointment. As a result, nobody got paid. This incident taught a lot of us that it was a good idea to know how things operated and how appointments were made and how people got on the payroll. One might call it my first great lesson in bureaucracy.

My activities didn't take much time because the important thing was to get at least some people in additional staff. There were no secretaries, there were no staff, and there was no idea as to just how Dr. Howe wanted this organization to develop. Well, there were a number of people who were resident in Washington who were interested in the new administration. After all, there were a lot of unemployed people. So just how these people came to be assigned to work in the Consumers Council office I think was largely the way I had been appointed: namely, here's somebody; here are jobs; put them on the payroll. So find out how the payroll gets established.

Anyhow, there were several people--my memory is of three, particularly--who at the time began to see within the AAA what the job was supposed to be. This involved the review of what were known as marketing boards and marketing regulations for various commodities. AAA, of course, had its activities that dealt with the so-called basic commodities on which prices were supposed to be raised. With higher prices, parity of prices

was to be achieved--something which has never yet been achieved.

Corporative Organization by Industry

Blaisdell: Anyhow, in addition to the establishment of parity prices for the basic commodities, other agricultural commodities could be controlled, and the controls could lead to raising prices. Just as in the National Industrial Recovery Administration [NIRA] the adoption of codes was supposed to achieve the same type of objectives. This policy has been known as corporative organization by industry. In the social science literature of corporate organization, corporatism had already found its home in Western Europe, not only in Germany with the Hitler programs, but also in France, also in Spain, and also with Mussolini in Italy. In other words, the fact that corporate organization was already a well-established practice in Western Europe, had its influence in the United States. It wasn't surprising that Dr. Howe had gone to Germany to see how the youth movement had been incorporated into the government program.

This kind of influence, of course, was very strong within the Roosevelt administration. Not only in AAA but also in the NIRA, where Colonel Hugh S. Johnson was the administrator. Without mentioning other names, I simply refer to the fact that it was strong there. I will say a little more about it in NIRA when I talk about the Consumers Advisory Board.

There were a whole series of arguments over how the non-basic commodity industries might possibly be organized. But here, just as in NIRA, it was largely a matter of trade organizations being re-organized as marketing groups under the government authority of AAA.

Nathan: Does this corporative activity imply close control by the government?

Blaisdell: This is exactly what it is. Except with the addition that it is corporative control by industrial or trade marketing organizations using government authority. They were the ones that were supposed to take the use of government power to regulate their own industries. Presumably this would be done under the rules and regulations under which the various industries would be organized, and might be effective. Among these industries that come to mind particularly are three, in which I had a hand.

Presumably, the Consumers Council was to participate in such a way that in the organization of the industries their interests were properly considered, and they were not to be misused. In other words, if prices were going to be raised it must not result in a penalty to consumers; a very nice conception if it can be worked. There were some theories under which, of course, it can work: namely, if the increase of commodities is sufficiently large so that the income to the producers can improve because of the increase in size, and consumers are not going to be injured. However, these instances aren't very obvious and the opportunity to use government control in this regard had not been tried or demonstrated. In fact, my own research experience at Columbia University which had had to do with the control of the Federal Trade Commission, demonstrated how the antitrust activities of government had little success in this regard.

So however theoretically, the question had to be, in each case, will the regulations have favorable or unfavorable activities as far as consumers are concerned? None of us who began to work immediately on this kind of activity in cooperation with the other branches of AAA were experienced at it. In that regard we couldn't ask for much help in the way of determining "What do we do? What do we try to achieve? What organization can be of any help in this kind of an undertaking?"

Marketing Issues and Quotas

Blaisdell: Several items come to mind particularly. In one of them I was associated with one of the other officials, who happens to be a friend of mine today at the University of California: Professor Harry Wellman. Harry Wellman later became Acting President of the University. We were both associated with the establishment of the industrial marketing group for the canned cling peach group. In fact, if my memory is correct, this organization still is active and controls the canned cling peach group of producers in California. That was one.

The second one is the milk industry as it was seen in those days. In the eastern part of the country, as evidenced in the State of New York, there was what was known as the milk shed.

While President Roosevelt was Governor of New York, attempts had been made with the milk association--farmers associated with the milk industry--to establish some form of control for the industry. It must be remembered that milk was

also produced in other parts of the country. Particularly in the states of Wisconsin and Minnesota the industry had progressed far beyond the small farmer organization of New York and New England. As a result, competition among Minnesota, Wisconsin, and the East was extremely strong. If anything, the industry wanted to get rid of that competition, because in particular the highly developed industry in the Midwest was cutting the prices, since milk could be shipped in tank cars in the East and be delivered in the East.

Without trying to go into the long struggle which focused in Boston, Chicago, and New York, you might simply indicate that there was an agreement reached which didn't last very long. It included such, nowadays, amusing items as whether it was legal--could it be made illegal--to distribute milk in cartons, because you could sell a carton of milk more cheaply than you could sell a glass bottle of milk. However, this series of debates within the industry concerned technical development, which made the sale of milk cheaper and yet equally good in every way, and a whole series of other marketing devices. These included the use of stainless steel railway cars for shipping milk East or shipping milk to other parts of the country under proper refrigeration, and so on. This kind of discussion gives simply a little sample of the kind of thing that the Consumers Council got mixed up in.

There were many others, but one of the most important was to have international impact over the years, not obvious, or not very obvious at the time. The development of beet sugar as an industry in the United States, an agricultural activity as part of various rotation schemes in the industry, was under promotion, full-fledged, by the Department of Agriculture, since most sugar in the United States came from Cuba. The question of Cuban sugar, in competition with the new beet sugar, was a very tough problem. As I mentioned earlier, there was some other sugar also that came to the United States from Hawaii, also from the Philippines, and from other parts of the Caribbean countries. These were the main areas that had advantageous conditions for raising sugar. Beet sugar, in spite of the fact that it was produced locally and hence had the advantage of transportation, still was much more expensive. So the domestic industry was extremely anxious to have controls over that industry.

It's not surprising that the leadership, in this case, did not come from AAA. It came from the Congress, since so many states had farmers who wanted to raise sugar beets, and the Department of Agriculture was promoting sugar beets. It was not difficult to get the support of sugar refining companies. The companies had to have their annual contracts with beet sugar producers, and it's not surprising, again, that the

tariffs made possible under the AAA act made possible tariffs on sugar beet sugar.

Some of the cane sugar which was imported was imported as raw sugar, not refined, and so the refiners of cane and the refiners of beet also were parties involved in a proposal agreement dealing with sugar. Again, without going into the detail--it would be a long story in itself--the proposal was made and accepted, and became part of the law for the adoption of quotas to solve the import problems as well as the refining problems that were involved in this program.

Nathan: So these were import quotas, but not quotas on domestic production?

Blaisdell: Well, the quotas were applied to both domestic and foreign imports. The complications were also involved with Hawaiian sugar, which was cane, with Philippine sugar, which was also cane, and very minor production of cane sugar in Louisiana and in Florida. These were not serious competition with beets, primarily because of the small quantities that were involved. But these sources were anxious to have their quotas also. So the agreements which were finally reached within the organization established under AAA provided for quotas on Philippine sugar, quotas on Hawaiian sugar, quotas on domestic and the various parts of the domestic production area.

Without doing more than simply indicating, eventually this form of organization was to become very, very important internationally. Internationally, the Cuban relationship of course is very important, and today as we said, we find Cuban production of sugar going exclusively to the Soviet Union. The disruption of Caribbean production which went to England, came to the United States, and so on. The Central American production remains major in the world program of sugar production. Of course, the world program includes also India, one of the largest sugar producers in the world. It involves also the highly technical problems of beet sugar on the European continent, not only in the Soviet Union but also in Western Europe. It involves also sources mentioned already for the Philippines. Just as a footnote to the Philippines issue, the family of President Corazon Aquino in the Philippines was one of the sugar-producing families in the Philippines and sugar was accountable for the Aquino wealth.

But much more important, the interest in Philippine independence rested very largely on the American beet sugar industry. This was recognized, both by the nationalist Filipinos who wanted independence, and by the beet sugar producers. It is not surprising that in 1946 when Philippine independence was granted that the senator who introduced the

legislation arranging for Philippine independence was none other than a senator from Arkansas, one of the great producing states.

Nathan: A beet sugar state?

Blaisdell: Beet sugar state, of course. This issue was well known and was recognized at the time of the passage of the regulations involving quotas, but with the establishment of the United Nations, the same issues that were at stake were recognized by many of the developing nations. The utilization of quotas became a favorite device advocated primarily from Latin America, but quotas became worldwide under the United Nations agreements. At the present, 1987, the agreements which had in the past been achieved are in abeyance. This is true largely because of the United States' unwillingness to recognize that it is one of the largest--or has been or can be--one of the largest importers, even under a quota system which would be, in the minds of the American sugar industry, harmful to American sugar production.

This effort was started as an agricultural program for the benefit of American farmers, and with the recognition only that quotas could become a favorite device in competition with the older method of tariff protection. Tariff protection was inherently involved in any program of this kind, a substitute for quotas. Quotas have, under United Nations terms, been recognized not only for sugar but for many other commodities in world trade. All of this is really nothing but a footnote to what I and my few associations were stumbling into with little knowledge, practically no knowledge of what it was we were working with. We were supposed to be finding out how to make such devices work. Ignorance is a poor justification for anything, but it does have a certain degree of explanatory value.

Consumers Advisory Board and Mrs. Rumsey (1933)

Blaisdell: This was '33, until the summer of '33. I had gone to Washington, probably late June or early July, and so through the summer my work was essentially at the AAA. At that time the NIRA program was underway, codes had their way, just as marketing agreements had their status under the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Instead of the Consumers Council in the NIRA, the provision had been made for a Consumers Advisory Board.

The first chairman of the Consumers Advisory Board was Mrs. Mary Harriman Rumsey. Her brother, Averell Harriman, was

one of the industrial representatives in the National Recovery Administration. She had as members of her board a number of distinguished economists, a number of industrial advisors, particularly purchasers of industrial commodities. In fact, that group of industrial representatives were some of the most valued as well as important members of that advisory group. After all, they were purchasers of industrial commodities and industrial machinery. They were industry within industry, and the competitive factor represented by the purchasers of industrial commodities was very, very important.

Mrs. Rumsey had an executive director of the Consumers Advisory Board, who was on loan from his New York job with one of the publishing companies in New York. He returned to his company and the Consumers Advisory Board needed a new executive director for staff. Not surprisingly, they looked over at AAA and said, "Well, here's a staff at the Consumers Council, and is there anybody there who might be useful in the Consumers Advisory Board?" Mrs. Rumsey invited me to interview, and several of the other members of the board interviewed me. I was urged to accept, since Dr. Howe had returned. He was ready to take over responsibilities and I "could be spared."

Anyhow, I became the director of the Consumers Advisory Board staff.

One Friday afternoon I had gone home and received a telephone call from Mrs. Rumsey. She was in the hospital, had been thrown from her horse riding on her estate in Virginia, and had agreed to make a speech on Monday. Somebody had to make the speech in her place. She said, "You've been working on these things; will you do it?" I had no alternative, and I accepted the assignment. On Monday, as I remember it, about the time the speech was to be made, Mrs. Rumsey died. It was a loss, not only to the job, but to me personally.

Nathan: I see. You have spoken of the heavy-duty industrial purchasers. I wondered whether there were any representatives of labor on your board?

Blaisdell: In our group there were no labor representatives. In AAA, labor was to have no representation on its side. Presumably farmers were laborers.

Anyhow, in the NIRA there was a separate labor division so that it was thoroughly represented there. In fact, one of the assistant directors of NIRA was head of one of the great unions in New York; my memory is that he was Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. They were represented, and represented very powerfully. One of President Roosevelt's overall group that dealt with this had been counsel for the

railway unions, and the railway unions politically had their own political power in Washington, entirely separate from the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor was under heavy attack by the industrial unions that were being formed at the time, and particularly by John L. Lewis and his mineworkers, in coal mining. American labor was in ferment at the time and the struggle over industrial union versus craft unionism was in full bloom.

Nathan: This is interesting, but I didn't want to get you away from your directorship.

Blaisdell: Well, this new job had in its membership of the Consumers Advisory Board a gentleman named Leon Henderson. Leon Henderson was a professor from Swarthmore College, but he was anything but a quiet member. He publicly made direct attack on General Johnson, the head of NIRA, and he established himself practically as an independent representative of consumers at the time. He went on, of course, to many other valuable activities, both before and after American participation in the war. I pay my compliments to him, both for his activities at that time and later for his many contributions, both to the so-called New Deal and to the American public--a man who has seldom been given due credit for what he did: price control during the war, his attacks on the steel industry for its price controls during NIRA, and so on and so on. He had his faults, but he also had his virtues.

My association there was cut short before we really had what I would have called an opportunity to do some of the things which might have been done and which we had some experience with.

Consumers' Interests and the End of the NRA [NIRA] (1935)

Nathan: Could you give me an example--

Blaisdell: One thing I carried over from AAA to NIRA--and which was welcomed without hesitation because they had been doing thinking along the same lines--was the labeling of canned products with consumers' information. We had tried to do in AAA the grading of the product in cans, and so on. I remember this item particularly, not because it was so vitally important, although in later years it became more and more significant, both in agricultural and in other commodity production.

Not long after that came the decision of the Supreme Court declaring NIRA unconstitutional and the questions came up as to what was going to be the replacement, if any. The one thing staff at the National Recovery Administration were not willing to admit was that this was finished. It was impossible--it can't be.

Well, there were congressmen and senators who also felt the same way, and there was legislation being introduced at the time. John L. Lewis had his ideas on coal regulation, and eventually that legislation was established, that institution was established, and the Consumers Council was named in that organization. But the major battle on corporate operation under government was finished as far as major industry was concerned, and any regulation that remained had to be rethought.

Tentatively my responsibilities turned on the development of experience under NIRA of consumer activities, and I spent a number of hours testifying before the Congress on these problems. Net result, zero, as far as I was concerned. I was concerned with what was coming next, not only for personal appointments but the question was, was I going to stay in government or go back to Columbia? I was on leave from Columbia at that time still, and the question had to be settled as to whether I would go back or not.

It was not unusual, because of the uncertainty of appointments at that time in Washington, for academics to take leave and then return to their teaching jobs. The Roosevelt administration was full of ideas, new and old, that had to be revived. I believe it was this time that I landed in the Resettlement Administration. [referring to notes] Let's have a look at that and see if my memory is correct.

Nathan: Well, the dates are perfect. We have 1935-36 for you as economic advisor to the administrator of the Resettlement Administration. Now just as we're getting on to this--the National Labor Relations Board did survive?

Blaisdell: Just a note on the survival of the National Labor Relations Board. I mention this particularly because of Senator Wagner, who was the author of the legislation dealing with the National Labor Relations Board at the time when the National Recovery Administration was abolished. Wagner had been one of the introducers and supporters of that legislation. Wagner was also to be not only the supporter but also the introducer of the legislation establishing the Social Security Board, a three-man board whose first chairman was Governor Gilbert Winant of the State of New Hampshire.

More on Tugwell's Roles and Interests

Blaisdell: You will remember that the person who had originally asked me to come to Washington was Rexford Tugwell.

Nathan: He was an academic also?

Blaisdell: He had been chairman of the Economics Department in Columbia College where I was teaching when I came to Washington. He had been one of the original four members of the so-called Brain Trust, and his relationship to President Roosevelt was very close. Maybe as a footnote I should also indicate that he was not a particular favorite of Mrs. Roosevelt. Those were personal relationships, and the relationship with the President was so close that often the question was whether Mr. Tugwell was the advisor to the President on agriculture, or whether Henry Wallace was. Wallace was Secretary of Agriculture; Tugwell was Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

Tugwell was not only the President's advisor on agriculture, but also on numerous other activities. Tugwell had his own ideas of what he wanted to do as separate from Wallace, although as a supporter he had been very useful to Wallace. Tugwell had broader ideas as to what he personally would like to have been part of; namely planning activities that involved numerous things, including agricultural planning.

Wallace was also interested in agricultural planning, because obviously the broad scale of agriculture is significant in the whole of the program. Its economic significance pricewise and so on was to continue to be important. So it was not surprising that President Roosevelt at that point was ready to make a move, and was ready to recognize some of Tugwell's personal interests as well as his interest as an advisor on numerous other things.

It might also be worthwhile to note that while Roosevelt had named Tugwell as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, one of the characteristics with all of his cabinet members was the appointment of politically important people as secretary of departments. He was much more apt to name an assistant secretary or an undersecretary as the operator, rather than an assistant to the operator. In the case of agriculture, this was not true. While Tugwell was recognized as a presidential advisor, he was not primarily an agricultural advisor to Henry Wallace. The appointment then of Tugwell as assistant secretary was in a sense his recognition as independent of Wallace. Although Tugwell was administratively responsible to Wallace, practically, for all intents and purposes, he was an independent operator, and Wallace recognized this.

Nathan: That must have been a difficult situation.

Blaisdell: Interestingly, Wallace and Tugwell got along very well. They were both clearly willing to recognize administrative lines. Tugwell was not very administratively minded. He told his first staff meeting that he expected to give them great authority and that he would support them as their work developed. As it turned out, he paid very little attention to the various people that he had asked to come to work with him. So little was the attention that he paid that they had the strong feeling that he was not particularly interested in what they were doing.

He kept having independent ideas as to what he was going to do personally, and the extent to which he was going to let his associates go their way and he would go his way. An example was an agreement to write a consumers column for a Washington newspaper. He had an interest in planning in the Soviet Union; and he, with several associates early on made a quick trip to the Soviet Union. American planners in those years had a very considerable influence in the Soviet Union, one might say because the Soviet Union knew little about American planners, and the American planners knew little about the Soviet Union.

Nathan: That's a wicked remark, but I like it.

Blaisdell: American planners indicated their interests in city planning and Tugwell was much interested in city planning. His selection of that part of his activities resulted in the establishment of four satellite towns which were eventually developed. Some ideas in city planning came out of it.

He was interested in housing. One of the things that he asked me to do was to work on the development of rural housing, and we did some studies in the actual practice of trying to build cheap houses that would be available for local construction.

Resettlement Administration and Other Agencies (1935-1936)

Blaisdell: As to my duties as advisor to the administrator of the Resettlement Administration, I learned very soon that my principal duty was to stay out of the road and take on incidental activities Mr. Tugwell needed somebody to have a look at. I soon learned, though, after a year, that these activities were not particularly the kind of thing that I could

be really useful at, and my associations with the various other government agencies left me with the feeling that I needed to be directly responsible for something more.

I will just list a few of the things that were involving relationships with other agencies. On the independent side, I mention low-cost housing; I mention the garden suburbs, the green belts for major cities; influences on social work; Tennessee Valley Authority, which was a brand-new thing; the Reclamation Bureau in the Department of Interior. There I got interested in the Central Valley program in California, about which I knew very little. So it was my education. These were public works of a number of different types that I was involved in. Another was immigration from Mexico. You can see I was all over the lot, and none of these things involved any particular activities.

The relationships with Congress; there were primarily personal relationships that developed on these various activities. I was asked to give a seminar at Brookings Institution, and I spent one evening a week with that seminar for a year. It dealt primarily with the experience in AAA. So I can say mostly that I was getting educated doing graduate work, if you please, post-graduate work in agriculture, post-graduate in a lot of things, and most of it was of great interest.

The Tugwell relationship was not to last very long; Tugwell was not to last very long. The very fact of Tugwell's many interests meant that he annoyed other people by his advising the President on the things which they had primary responsibility for. So the President had a job on his hands: what was he going to do with Tugwell? The complaints against Tugwell were very noticeable, and Tugwell's public relations were not particularly good. So the next thing that Mr. Tugwell was asked to do was to be Governor of Puerto Rico, where he had a great chance to exercise his interest in planning.

There is one thing that goes back to the Resettlement Administration that I should mention, which has come as a result of conversations with Tehan Carey [Bunim]. She and her husband have a ranch up in Booneville, and a friend up there had built a house of rammed earth. Talking with her about this house reminded me of one of the incidents in my work with the Resettlement Administration, with Tugwell when he was the director and undersecretary of agriculture. Among the staff there was an architect who had worked on a number of different projects. One of the things we talked about that seemed to have possibilities within the framework of the Resettlement Administration was rammed earth. This was particularly for the Far West and the large number of people who were moving from

the Great Plains towards the Pacific Coast, but it also applied, possibly, to the southern part of the country. We began to look into the literature on the development of rammed earth housing as a possibility for people who were out of work and had no resources. They might possibly find rammed earth as a material that could be used.

So with a lot of research and not much satisfactory material to be found, we still thought we'd go ahead. The net result was that perhaps a half dozen houses were actually built.

Nathan: Where were they built?

Blaisdell: These were in the South; I can't remember the location. There was a cement slab for the foundation, plus setting frames for the ramming of earth, and the experiments with what kind of earth would be satisfactory. The idea was that adobe clay might be something that could be used; we were looking for something that would be widely usable and could be had in a good many different places. This introduced, however, a whole series of questions about housing standards. What were we really trying to do? Resettlement had had other ideas, among them four housing communities which were actually built.

We were very sensitive to the fact that walls were not all that was involved in building a house. A whole series of questions arose concerning roofing, windows, doors, plumbing, electricity, lighting. In many of the rural communities there was no electricity; the availability of electricity had been one of the things the New Deal was particularly interested in, and the development of cooperative electric facilities. I mention these simply to indicate the variety of problems that are involved the minute one begins to talk about housing.

Nathan: Are these permanent structures?

Blaisdell: They were to be permanent structures, presumably; anything people could do themselves was the principle. Even for a skilled architect, the sensitivity to this whole variety of problems seemed to stand in the way, without the Resettlement Administration getting into the whole business of housing. Housing was a much more complicated thing than providing short-term, or long-term housing for people who were homeless and who were looking for an opportunity to do something themselves.

At this late date, in 1987, again, we're stumbling over the ideas as to how our homeless people are taken care of, and we haven't gotten much further than we stumbled into in the Resettlement Administration. It must be remembered at this late date also that the Resettlement Administration only lasted

for a couple of years, and that the various projects undertaken by resettlement were later picked up by other activities, both within the Department of Agriculture and by other government agencies. Particularly it must be remembered that the Federal Housing Administration became one of the instrumentalities that carried on from the beginnings made in the Resettlement Administration. Also the Rural Electrification program became a longtime activity that continues today.

These, of course, were at that time borderline activities for people floating around the country. The Dust Bowl characteristics were a phenomenon of that era. One of the experiences that I remember particularly during those earliest summers in Washington had to do with the wind storms bringing dust over Washington.

Nathan: Over Washington?

Blaisdell: Over Washington, from the West. One became very aware of what was known as the Dust Bowl in Washington. So these experiences were not something simply those of the Midwest and the high plains of the West.

Cotton, Southern Labor, and Producers' Coops

Blaisdell: One of the first trips I took in the days of the AAA had to do with the cotton growing in Oklahoma. Cotton was one of the commodities that was particularly specified in the AAA legislation. Cotton was one of the agricultural crops that we were talking about, not just wheat and corn, no matter how much they might appear in the publicity, on the news media.

Anyhow, it was my own personal first Dust Bowl experience. The conversation I had at that time made me particularly aware of a number of other related activities that had to do with the development of agricultural commodities. In the case of cotton, the cotton picker was taking the place of the hand picking which was standard in the cotton community. The machines that did the job and do it today were part of the story of displacement of southern labor, particularly, and of forcing southern agricultural labor into the cities. This phenomenon in the late 30s was, of course, accentuated and became one of the great sources of labor during World War II. The movement from agriculture into industry, particularly for the Black laborer, was something which the North had to learn about, the northern states who were to become large residences for Black migratory workers. They were to come North, and take

their place in the northern labor force as well as in the South.

In my memory it was one of those early experiences I continued to observe over the next half century, with many, many facets: one was the movement of agricultural labor into industrial labor in the South as well as in the North. The differences in the cultural change which took place are suggested by one very interesting item which came up, not on the first western trip but on one of the southern trips. This was in, if my memory is correct, South Carolina.

I was out on the land with one of the agricultural experiment station people, and we were talking with a poor white farmer. As we talked, the extension worker said to the poor white sharecropper, "This is an interesting area, because I used to know it very well. And there were so many Black workers here in those years. I don't see any now." The answer to this came very quickly, and it was: "You are right. There ain't nobody here now who is worse off than we is."

Nathan: That's very eloquent.

Blaisdell: Well, most of those trips that I took were for different reasons concerning the activities that I was related to. Theoretically I would be going, shall we say, to make a talk for the consumers office. In the course of just curiosity I would say, "I don't know this part of the country well; what's going on?" In many instances I would be gone for a day or two. One of the problems I've mentioned previously had to do with particular commodities and the development of control machinery, particularly in the marketing of commodities. And this stimulated also a particular interest in the way in which particular commodities were being grown or being marketed.

One with which I had nothing to do, but with which I was interested, was the development of cooperative marketing of citrus fruit. The large-scale marketing program was in Florida and California where citrus growing became a great industry, but it was largely producers' cooperatives that were at the root of this particular development. The many, many small groves of citrus in both parts of the country became the producers' coops which were such a marked characteristic of the industry. They remain the same in these years now, but are rarely thought of as cooperatives.

We tend to think of cooperatives largely as consumers' organizations which were an economic form of an entirely different character. In the Midwest, particularly, the consumer activities were agricultural, involving the purchase of such items as oil and gasoline for use on agricultural

products. These supplies were made available through cooperative organizations of farmers in many, many parts of the Midwest.

Nathan: I wondered when you were making yourself aware of agricultural problems in this country, did you compare them with those you saw in China or in India many years before?

Blaisdell: Well, yes and no. Yes, because I just couldn't refrain from making comparisons. No, in the sense that I really knew so little about the agriculture in both China and India. I must confess quite frankly that my interests there were in almost entirely different fields, where I was concerned with economics, with history, with language. Those years abroad, particularly in India and China, were in the exploration, really, of what I think of today as completely strange cultures. The cultures were so completely different.

There was one--not an instance or an experience--a comment which was supposed to have originated with Gandhi. (Incidentally, Gandhi came to India just at the time when I was there. He had not become an international figure yet, but his name was known.) His comment when he was asked, "What is Hinduism?" was "You can't define it. You have to experience it." It takes considerable experience to understand the significance of this very wise comment by a man who was closer to it, probably, than almost any other individual of his time. Thinking of India and rammed-earth housing--it never occurred to me that I was dealing with the same material in Resettlement that I had witnessed in India.

Nathan: Had you seen any rammed earth houses in China, in Peking?

Blaisdell: No. I don't know of any today; there may be.

Living a long time brings into focus things that at the time were not considered of any significance. One of the advantages of what you learn by growing old is that your perspective shifts. You begin to realize the extent to which things that at the time were of no importance--remembering back--come into focus and are seen as part of a whole series of related activities that otherwise one just forgets.

Nathan: Yes. That is illuminating.

Brandeis and the NRA Ruling

Nathan: You have spoken of Keynes's view; it must have influenced your work in the federal scene?

Blaisdell: Exactly. As I think back on it, I wish there had been more understanding, rather than less, so that there would have been a better understanding than I had at that time of what I was trying to do. This was true with regard to that whole series of activities dealing with National Recovery Administration, and the AAA. When I found myself agreeing with Justice Louis D. Brandeis and his thinking at the time of the Supreme Court decision, I was very much puzzled as to where I stood.

Nathan: Did Brandeis vote that these actions of the National Recovery Administration were unconstitutional?

Blaisdell: Definitely. There was never any question in his mind, on the constitutionality issue, because he was convinced Roosevelt was wrong, no matter how much friendship he had with various people, including me. I can't remember the number of interviews with Brandeis that I had where we talked about everything, but particularly, "What was the Roosevelt administration trying to do?" Brandeis had his strongly oriented private enterprise approach to the economy, the private enterprise which was founded on the old idea of "small is beautiful."

"Small is beautiful" meant competition, and it meant that an economy organized on the basis of competition was the ideal, as contrasted with corporate control. Because the contrast at that time in Brandeis' thinking, over and over again, was corporate versus individual private enterprise.

Nathan: Was it realistic at that time?

Blaisdell: Yes, in its description of the way the economy was running. Brandeis's little book, Other People's Money, in essence was saying that corporations are running with other people's money, not with their own. He was also saying that some way must be found by which a small individual could find his way into the organized structure of an economy.

His approach to this problem and his thinking, entirely apart from his decisions on the court, ran to what was called savings bank insurance. Brandeis had given unbelievable time to thinking about insurance, which he felt as a very essential part of the issue. He saw Metropolitan Life, New York Life, and the big insurance companies of those years and their way of collecting insurance premiums from poor people, where the insurance salesmen went around week after week and collected his fifteen, twenty cents, twenty-five cents. For collecting he was getting twenty of the twenty-five cents, and the five cents was going for insurance.

So Brandeis invented the so-called "savings bank insurance program" which said, "If you will come back to the savings bank and make your deposits you will also get such-and-such insurance. You don't have to have somebody come around and pick it up."

The Massachusetts Savings Bank Insurance Law was passed on the basis of that concept. There was also a New York state law on the same basis, and there were a number of New York savings banks that were organized on that principle. This attempt to find a common relationship between big business and the little people was an amazing attempt.

After Brandeis came to the court, unfortunately there was very little of his thinking that filtered out into the general public. He had written his books, he had carried his cases before the Massachusetts and federal courts. His fundamental philosophy was "small is beautiful," and "competition is the basic control which can be valid." How do you find the way? His savings bank insurance concept was one of those things. Very few people, however, picked up those concepts and carried them the way he did.

Nathan: How did you become close to him?

Blaisdell: That's an interesting question. How can I remember? I think there was a personal friend of his who became a personal friend of mine who said, "You ought to meet Judge Brandeis." I said, "Of course." Brandeis was not an unknown name to me, by any means; I had read various things that he had written. He was also much interested in the cooperative movement.

This friend had come to know him very well in connection with the developments of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, Brandeis's relationship to the Sacco-Vanzetti case, which I do not remember in detail, except that he was associated with it. He and Justice Felix Frankfurter were two of the very distinguished Harvard and other lawyers who were really concerned about the Sacco-Vanzetti case and the question of whether justice was being done or whether it was not.

This friend introduced me, and then I think it was Brandeis rather than I who moved. He was interested in me because he saw me as one of these would-be New Dealers who were struggling with, "What's going on nowadays, anyhow? What is Roosevelt trying to do?" I think probably Brandeis was right, because he was pumping me; there was no question about that.

I can remember so well going to his apartment, and he and I would talk. At the end of 45 minutes, Mrs. Brandeis would come in and say, "The Justice will now have his rest. He has

asked that you wait until he has finished." I, of course, would wait. Then at the end of 15, 20 minutes, he would come back feeling refreshed, and we would have another 45 minutes, depending on what he wanted.

That association, of course, in my mind was, "What does he think, anyhow? How does this fit together with the various things--in his vote in the NRA cases and in the AAA cases, why did he go the way he went?" Well, I didn't understand at that time nearly as much as I think I understand now. This is backstairs wit if anything was.

We might put one other little note in here. Judge and Mrs. Brandeis lived in an apartment in Washington. Sunday afternoons was tea-time, and various people were invited for tea. I am not a tea-goer, but if Brandeis invited, of course we went. There would be 15, 20 people, and minimal food; always tea. Mrs. Brandeis was always careful to see that everyone had an opportunity or a chance to chat with the Justice. That was part of the ritual, and it's fair to say everyone waited for his opportunity.

Nathan: Was your wife invited?

Blaisdell: Oh yes. She always went with me. The talk with Mr. and Mrs. Brandeis was very homely, rather than any attempt to do business at those afternoons. More often I suspect the Judge used those simply as, "How do I get to know or see various individuals?" who later would be invited if he wanted to talk with them. Those of us who were fortunate enough to be invited from time to time for more than tea knew very quickly the time when we were supposed to leave the interview. Mrs. Brandeis was very careful, properly so. And I have no hesitation in saying that....

Nathan: --that any sensitive person got the signal, was that it?

Blaisdell: That's right. So when the court decisions came there was a degree of disappointment, because unquestionably in my mind, there was something missing in the administration's understanding of Brandeis's philosophy.

Nathan: I wondered whether you met other interesting people at the Brandeis tea parties or other occasions there?

Blaisdell: It's interesting that at those parties there were very few people that I remember meeting. I must have met any number of people, but they didn't make any great impression on me at the time. Partly it was my own naivete: "Who were these people anyhow? What was their location? What were they doing?" Brandeis, I knew. He was a real name, and when the opportunity

came to meet him, as it's fairly easy to note, that was very significant to me.

My thinking at that time was certainly far more in line with, "How does government regulate industry?" The fact was that I had written on the regulation of industry through the Federal Trade Commission. It was a concept that probably I didn't understand too well anyhow, even though I had written on it. This thinking of the government relationship to industry was, of course, one of the things which was dominant thinking in that whole era. Mussolini, Hitler, British labor--it was all part of an approach to government, and an approach to private economy.

Collapse of the Economy (1929), and Failure of the Federal Reserve

Blaisdell: The concept was that private enterprise had failed in 1929 with the collapse of the market and the collapse of the economy. It was the collapse of the economy that was so impressive, as contrasted with what happened to the stock market.

Nathan: Also just a few days ago?

Blaisdell: Well, yes, today, a few days ago (1987). Whether that will have any impact on the basic economy is something which is yet to be discovered.

As of 1929, one of the things which is still in mind is the failure of the Federal Reserve to function; it did nothing. This was contrary to all thinking at the time the Federal Reserve was established under President Wilson. But nevertheless it was true--the Fed just didn't function as was historically prescribed.

Nathan: In the economic theory of that time, what should the Fed have done?

Blaisdell: I think the only way that we can answer that kind of question is in appraisal of the Fed and its understanding of what it was supposed to do. It wasn't supposed to do nothing, and it did nothing. We begin to try to think what should they have done: Should interest rates have been dropped? Should interest rates have been manipulated? Should the Fed have taken an entirely different point of view in terms of the purchase or sale of government securities?

Deficits were just beginning to be understood. Keynes in his thinking on deficits said, "Deficits are the only thing; we must have deficits." This was Keynes's approach to Roosevelt. The stories that are told of Keynes's interview with Roosevelt, have him coming away and saying there was no evidence that Roosevelt understood at all what he might really have done.

Well, I think there probably are a good many people today who agree with Keynes, that Roosevelt didn't understand. Roosevelt had to be almost dragooned into having the kinds of deficits which he accepted in those early New Deal days. Roosevelt was known to be a balance-the-budget man. There are plenty of evidences in the various stories of Roosevelt and the early New Deal, of how he opposed nearly every one of the activities which later the New Deal became rather famous for. It wasn't Roosevelt; it was people in the Congress who were advocates, like Senator Wagner, like Senator La Follette, and even Roosevelt's own Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, because the reciprocal trade agreements program undoubtedly was Cordell Hull. The trade agreements were Roosevelt's concession to Hull and other political leaders.

In this day and generation it's not only interesting but it is amazing to find Ronald Reagan again adopting a Rooseveltian stance with regard to reciprocal trade. Ronald Reagan seems to have an instinct that Roosevelt was right on that and other issues. Of course, President Reagan also seems to have believed that Roosevelt was right on deficits of the budget. It's difficult to quite understand how his thinking parallels Roosevelt, but it does. In the early speeches by Reagan, the number of times when Roosevelt is quoted is a striking phenomenon of this era. In the Roosevelt era, Roosevelt was found guilty because of what he was saying, and Ronald Reagan, who picked it up and quoted it and used it also in policy determination, was praised for it.

You see, it's a fascinating mixture. There may be considerable evidence that if Roosevelt didn't understand what he was doing, maybe Reagan didn't either.

Nathan: That's interesting. One might observe that Roosevelt did change some of his views, perhaps. Or is there evidence for that?

Blaisdell: Yes, there's no question that Roosevelt changed his views. One of them certainly was on questions of deficit. Why he changed --this is another question. But it would seem that he did through his association with Harry Hopkins, particularly Hopkins's devotion to the idea that people must be fed.

Nathan: That had echoes in your views?

Blaisdell: Yes. This whole idea of an association between the people and Roosevelt raises all kinds of thoughts. Because in spite of Roosevelt's conservative point of view, which he was very happy to use if he could--nevertheless, when it was politically popular, Roosevelt didn't hesitate to change it.

A side note, one of the things which impressed me was the way in which the Congress reacted to so much of what was being done: on the one hand supporting it with legislation, on the other hand criticizing it for what it was doing. For example at the time when the legislation for relief was being considered, reconsidered year after year, one of the things Hopkins had tried to do with his staff in the relief machinery was to find out what was going on. How many people were being helped? How were they being helped? Gradually, month after month, the figures were being assembled. The Congress concluded that all this nonsense of collecting data on people was wrong, and prohibited any continuation of this statistical collection by the relief administration. In other words, don't know what's going on; then you're more comfortable.

I mean, after all, Harry Hopkins was the relief administrator, in addition to being a lot of other things later.

Hopkins and His Style

Blaisdell: In the first summer in Washington, I lived with a small group of other government workers, including Jerome Frank, Rex Tugwell, Harry Hopkins, and Will Alexander. The group changed as many came to Washington. The custom of the house was a drink before dinner, dinner, then back to the office for continuing work. Frank, Tugwell, and Alexander were in the Department of Agriculture. Hopkins was working in the national relief program for which FDR had brought him from welfare and social work in New York State.

One evening Hopkins didn't come in until dinner was just finishing and, as always, he was full of his work. He immediately said, "I have a problem. On my desk is a telegram from a local official down South which says, '...down here there is a group of workers on strike, and they are requesting relief money. What do we do?'"

The argument started promptly pro and con. Shortly Hopkins said, "You fellows make me tired. I have already replied."

"What did you say?"

"I said, 'If they are hungry, feed them.'"

This tells a story, particularly on Hopkins not only nationally as he administered welfare, but also later when he worked internationally closely with Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin. If there is a problem calling for action, decide it.

Hopkins and I had no troubles. We often saw each other; we seldom exchanged views very much.

He paid me a compliment one time, when he had come back to government with Roosevelt at the beginning of the war. He asked if I would come to see him one evening. He was living in Georgetown, not far from where Mrs. Blaisdell and I were living. So after dinner I went over, and we had a long talk, the substance of which was, Hopkins talking: "I shall be working with the President. It looks as though it will probably be for quite a period. After all, we're just on the edge of the war. I need somebody to work with me. Would you consider it?" I told him I would give it thought, but after a couple of days I decided no.

Nathan: Why?

Blaisdell: A lot of basic family reasons, I think. After all, family meant a lot to me. I suspect that that was the real reason; I had a lot of other excuses. I was working at the Resources Board at the time; there were things that I was particularly concerned with; and I had the feeling, "Hopkins has got his responsibilities, I've got mine. They're not the same as his. I don't think I can do what he wants." So as I remember it, it was not a particularly difficult decision.

Nathan: It was a great compliment to you, though.

Blaisdell: The fact that it was going to be with the President, and that he was convinced he was going to be with the President, might have been real bait. But I had been in Washington long enough to know what being with the President can mean, in terms of the demands on anyone, and anyone's conception and understanding of what this can mean. I had the feeling for me, "I can't do it." I have no regrets, because as things developed with the work that came at the War Production Board and from there on, in many ways my contribution to the problems of the time were probably much better fitted to me than having been an assistant to Harry Hopkins as an assistant to the President.

Nathan: Yes, I see that.

Blaisdell: That's the way it worked out anyhow, and it's just as well not to think, well, it might have been different.

Government Service, and Suggestions for Berkeley

Nathan: That's a nice insight to the way things were.

Thinking ahead about your life as a professor of political science at Berkeley, was there a readiness to move to academia from government? I don't want to put words in your mouth. Maybe there are different ways of looking at that.

Blaisdell: Well, I think the answer has to be, definitely. At the time I was beginning to be ready to move. This had to do with the growing shift in my responsibilities at the Department of Commerce several years later. My thinking about going back to teaching was one of those things which came to mind very often, under varying circumstances as we went along from year to year. This was true from associations with friends; among those friends was a professor at Berkeley named Charles Gulick. Gulick and I had been associates, friends at Columbia where we had both taught. He had graduated, he had gotten his doctorate a year ahead of mine, at which time he had come to work in Berkeley. The next year he tried to persuade me that Berkeley was a good place to work. And, of course, there was no place like Columbia. I was ready to stay at Columbia, and I didn't encourage Charlie at all. He didn't push me, as I remember. We were still friends.

At various breaks along the line after I went to Washington we would be in touch with each other incidentally, without any particular aim--and his comment always was, "Any time you think you might be interested, let me know." Well, that was one thing.

But as it seemed, the immediate next job seemed to be the one that interested me particularly. And as the story went from one to the next, it was always something interesting, something new. There was no change from the time there in the years that I went to the Department of Commerce. My associations there were unusually friendly. All of the people working with Mr. Harriman were people I understood--there was Foster, who was the undersecretary. There was David Bruce, who was an assistant secretary. I was an assistant to the department head. We had worked through the organization of the Marshall Plan. Harriman, who had been so close to the development of the program, was asked by the President to take

the responsibility for putting it into effect in Europe. This was fascinating.

Nathan: You were saying that the Harriman appointment was an interesting one.

Blaisdell: With Harriman's departure for Paris, he took with him Foster and Bruce and a number of other people who were to become his right and left hands in Paris. Paul Hoffman was to be the administrator of the Marshall Plan in Washington. Hoffman was a good Republican, very good. Probably there could not have been a better head in Washington, because his relationship to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg was close, and Vandenberg was a Republican who understood Harry Truman very well; and Truman understood Hoffman.

So the question: what happens to me? Secretary Sawyer was open-minded enough to say, "Why not become the assistant secretary? This will fit into my concept of what we're up to." The things we were up to, of course, were the continuation of the administration under Marshall Plan, plus the next step in trade promotion, which was the administration of reciprocal trade agreements. Secretary Sawyer was not an enthusiast about reciprocal trade agreements. He had different ideas about the nature of trade and trade regulation, but he was always very cooperative with me, with whom he disagreed.

There was, however, another current which was flowing. That current made itself apparent at the University of California in what was known as the loyalty oath. That current was also in Washington, and it was very strong. Among those who were subjected to the pressure involved was myself, in a whole series of specific things. As I have said, the most difficult of all was the necessity for defending staff who also came under pressure, the so-called loyalty program. The very fact that I was prepared to defend people who were working with me meant that I, too, was under scrutiny--so that in testifying before the Congress, this was always one of the things that kept cropping up.

Commerce Department Award

Nathan: I don't want to let you leave the Commerce Department without a word about the award, just briefly if you like.

Blaisdell: At the Commerce Department I was going to be leaving a lot of very good friends. There was a custom in government where officials who were holding responsible positions--bureau

chiefs, secretaries, assistant secretaries--colleagues would take up a collection, and it would result in the presentation of a gift of some variety; maybe a fancy briefcase--something anyhow that might be useful. It would be announced that there would be a dinner, and it would cost a considerable amount of money, and many were invited. I had decided personally that there would be nothing of this variety as far as I was concerned. So what was I going to do?

No liquor was served in government buildings. I said, "If I have a tea party it will be out of my office, which has a consultation room next door, and that will be my goodbye." That's what we did. My wife and I had this party for ourselves and those friends who wanted to come. We took up no collection.

Well, the next morning, as I remember, Secretary Sawyer said that he had a little something that he wanted to make available to me, if Mrs. Blaisdell would join me. So that afternoon, just in his office, she came and he presented me with the Gold Medal of the Department of Commerce, in appreciation for what I had done in the department.

Nathan: Were you expecting this?

Blaisdell: No. I expected nothing. I had made my farewells. But I was more than pleased, particularly thankful to Secretary Sawyer. This is not an unusual thing with people who are leaving government service and who have held responsible positions.

Nathan: It's interesting that he wanted to do that when, as you have explained, your ideas didn't necessarily coincide at all. I think it speaks very well for both of you, really.

Blaisdell: It worked out.

Nathan: So we have now gotten you to Berkeley. That is a very good place for you to be.

[Blaisdell: Well, I think it's time for me to talk to Cleo Stoker.]

Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board (1936-1938)

Nathan: Thinking of where we have been, maybe we can take up the narrative again around 1936-38.

Blaisdell: Yes. [Looks at outline]

Nathan: We're down to '36-'38, Assistant Director of Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board. We had gone past AAA now and are moving on to the Social Security Board. You were being called to a number of posts during this period?

Blaisdell: Yes, in this case I went with the Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board. At that time it was the Social Security Board with a three-man board, of which John Gilbert Winant was the chairman. My work was with Walton Hamilton, who was director of research for the board.

The office was not a closely structured and organized bureau. In fact, it was very loosely organized, so the assignment of various activities to various members was loose. My assignments, which never lasted too long, were those which I selected myself, very largely.

In case I forget to mention it, Winant, the chairman of the board, later became the Director General of the International Labor Organization. Then following that he became Ambassador to the United Kingdom during the war. Following that he became, I believe, one of the first two American representatives, rank of ambassador, to the United Nations.

It's interesting to note that in those early years of the Social Security Board, one of the things that Winant had strong feelings about was the relationship with the European social security organization. The result was that the small group from the staff of my research division was sent to Europe, and we spent, if my memory is correct, about six weeks. We did interviews in England, Germany, Holland and in Austria, on the organization and general principles of those particular social security systems, namely the old-age system in those countries. It must be remembered that at that time in the history of Europe these organizations had been established for many years. In Germany it went back to the 1880s, and in England it had gone back to the late 1920s, when the motto "From the cradle to the grave" was well established in England. It included not only old age but it included also medical care, and care for children as part of the system. I should include in this list France, because we also spent several days in France, looking into that group of activities. I have never been particularly happy with the amount of time we were able to give to the work that we tried to do, but we were actually trying to get a feeling for how far did each of these countries go in terms of various types of social security, not just the old-age system.

It may also be worth noting that in the work of the research division there were many discussions with the actuary

of the board, particularly with regard to the possible inclusion of Medicare or medical care of some variety in the work of the Social Security Board at that time. The final decisions that were recommended to the President at that time included "Don't go for medical care" because, by asking for too much, probably little could be secured. The old-age program was just being adopted and the need for these other protections was very clear, but the need had very little support in the Congress. As one thinks of the developments in Europe at the time, the attempt as we might say to "catch up" on welfare legislation was something very much in the minds of both the Congress and the administration.

In these days, it's interesting to remember that the actuarial projections, both of age and of cost of the program, become more and more one of the emphases that we hear today. In my view, there is much too much emphasis on these attempts to project costs. This is a judgment shared by many students of social legislation of one kind and another.

In the private sector, where actuarial projections are very common for all kinds of insurance, the necessity for revising the projections year after year, decade after decade, remains one of the types of issue that one can't get away from, when we insist on including these estimates in budgetary projections for coming years. In fact, it might seem today that the Social Security account maintained for the Social Security Act and its successors as recorded in the treasury conceals more than is revealed about the so-called Social Security account. A very large section of the national debt of the United States is represented in the Social Security account in the treasury, so that it can even mislead when one tries to appraise just what the significance of the account is.

There are ways which we know very clearly that this can be handled without the attempt to follow private life insurance protections as ways of understanding and controlling social security projections.

Nathan: Is it your thought that the projections in the social security concept tend to distort reality?

Blaisdell: I think definitely they do, particularly in the mind of the public. We haven't done a very good job in explaining to the public the nature of social security and the relationships which exist between social security taxes and the social security program.

Taxes become one thing, and protection for retirement becomes an entirely separate type of analysis and projection. Particularly when we add in Medicare or Medicaid or the

modifications that come as a result of different types of private insurance, we simply get ourselves confused rather than assisted in making these various analyses. The struggle that went on within the board itself for years is only typical of the kinds of problems which are continually being, and continue to be, raised.

Nathan: What were some of the issues that the board wrestled with?

Blaisdell: Well, when one begins to think of the private insurance field, the nature of the "insurance" turns so much on the degree to which contributions are made to accounts, those different accounts have to be kept separate.

Nathan: That's a point I hoped you would talk about.

Blaisdell: Think, for example, of the very words "term insurance," when the most valuable kind of insurance for certain families is term insurance as contrasted with other life insurance. We're getting into this same kind of conflict in our attempts to insure savings bank deposits and particularly their relationships to other parts of the federal budgetary system.

The present federal budget has so many different types of accounts that when we come to the ultimate question of how much does the federal government owe to other people, including corporations, the answers are not clear, even in algebraic terms. They simply combine oranges and apples, and so many different varieties of apples or oranges, that it is almost impossible to pull out and make meaningful some of these arguments. We have gotten ourselves into an argument over balancing budgets which makes them completely un-understandable, even to the highly organized and capable Bureau of the Budget or the Congressional Budget Bureau. The economic analyses that go along with the year-after-year projections are so tangled with the behavior of other parts of the national accounts that the concept of a balanced budget makes hardly any sense as it is now presented year after year. There are ways in which it can be handled, but the present telephone book variety is hardly one that recommends itself even to anyone who is willing to spend considerable time, as both the Congress and the administration observe. One can't follow these arguments without saying to himself, "Nothing is more important to the general public, and yet nothing is also more confusing than the present presentations," but that is purely incidental to the problems that were being discussed in the board at that time.

Since those days, we are now in the era of Medicare, we are in the era of Medicaid, the principal distinction being between federal and state administration of various welfare schemes, and the problems of influence on savings of various

types of activity. Presumably we are saving, but just how it's done few people understand, or whether it actually happens. So I think the accounting as of now would put about maybe 25 percent of the national debt in the social security account, which we now owe to ourselves some day in the future.

Nathan: Very interesting. Now do I understand correctly that the social security budget or the funds are not accounted for apart from the rest of the budget?

Blaisdell: That is correct.

Nathan: Were they intended to be originally?

Blaisdell: As originally planned, no, but there were many people, and there still are many people who insist that they should be separately accounted. This is one of the attempts to sort out the meanings of balanced budget. The argument, I suspect, will go on for a long time yet. The really important point is the extent to which people who have retired are taken care of with the government program. Nowadays it is even more important than it ever has been. The attempt to hitch it on to private schemes becomes almost beyond the comprehension of those individuals who are involved.

Private insurance has its place, and the important thing is to keep the separate programs sufficiently separate so people appreciate what it is and what they are entitled to or not entitled to. The term "entitlements" is very important to everybody, at least everyone who lives that long. [chuckles]

In my work in the Research Bureau, I had--I don't know why, but I sort of accepted--an assignment of trying to analyze the potential requirements that were involved in two groups of people not usually admitted to the Social Security system. The first one was employees in the home, and the second was agricultural employees. These two were of genuine interest to me and particularly in regard to the potential inclusion of agricultural employees. Professor Paul Taylor and his wife Dorothea Lange were of great help in the basic analysis that was involved with the extent to which they--particularly immigrants--should be included or should not be included; the way in which this part of social security should be administered; and the development of the administrative mechanisms that become more and more important and significant as time went on. Of course, today at least we have nominal coverage of both the agricultural workers and domestic employees, so that in part that part of my assignments has been taken care of. Whether it's adequate or not, that's another issue which will depend on the level of well-being of the general public as well as agricultural or domestic employees.

There was considerable time being given to those particular categories.

Arthur Altmeyer, Wilbur Cohen, and Robert Ball

Nathan: I came across the names of Arthur Altmeyer and Wilbur Cohen. Would it be appropriate to ask about them in this connection?

Blaisdell: Arthur Altmeyer and Wilbur Cohen were two of the people who were associates of Winant at the board while I was still there. Both of them continued their relationship with the board, which later became an "administration" as contrasted with a three-man "board." Altmeyer was a board member for a time before he finally returned to the University of Wisconsin. Cohen stayed with the administration and eventually became head of the welfare department of the government. I haven't used the right name.

Nathan: Eventually it was Health, Education and Welfare?

Blaisdell: HEW, yes, Health, Education and Welfare Administration. And it now has still a different name, Health and Human Services. Anyhow, these two gentlemen both made contributions way beyond that which is usually handed to government employees. Mr. Cohen began as an assistant to Altmeyer. As an assistant to Altmeyer he was part of the whole organizing crew that worked on the development of the Social Security Administration. One can almost say that he grew up with the Social Security Administration, and understood it as well as any person. I happened personally to disagree with him when it came to matters that involved separate accounting for the administration's activities, but that was a difference in assumption on which we both worked. It must be admitted that specifically his activities were accepted in the beginning. Later the ideas that I was directly concerned with dealt with the way in which the accounting was taken care of as part of the gross national product (GNP) instead of a separate accounting machinery. This was, in my judgment, a difference between two ways of carrying on accounting rather than a fundamental difference over the desirability or non-desirability of the Social Security Administration and old-age provision entitlement.

So these two men should be noted. There are other individuals. Among them, however, the one that I would prefer to choose above all others was Robert Ball, who for many years was chief administrator of the Old Age Administration. He had

a clarity of vision with regard to the ultimate objectives, that few people shared. His value can't be overstressed.

Paul Taylor and Dorothea Lange

Blaisdell: Maybe I should say a further word about two associates, Paul Taylor and Dorothea Lange. Their interest in social security was secondary to their wider interest in agricultural labor in the Southwest. The people who have worked on agricultural labor, both in the Northwest as well as in the Southwest and on the West Coast, plus those who have worked on and studied agricultural labor in the East Coast--which is seldom mentioned--deserve a very considerable degree of recognition. They tend to be forgotten.

Professor Taylor's fundamental interest lay in land control, particularly in the distribution of public land in relation to the distribution of irrigation services and the limitations placed upon the use of irrigation water. A fundamental analysis that was involved in his work had to do with the extent to which public resources should be made available to private individuals.* The history of public land distribution in the United States as it related to farming features "160 acres and a mule" as one of the basic assumptions. These limitations that were proposed on the distribution of irrigation water, in Professor Taylor's view were intended to distribute land and water more equitably and to keep those small units in wide distribution rather than having the land concentrated in large holdings for the benefit of large owners. This struggle went on not only within the Department of Interior, and the Bureau of Irrigation, and the War Department over the distribution of irrigation water. It was the War Department, strictly the Army Engineers who had jurisdiction over waterways. Yes. I think that's about what we've got to comment on here.

*See "Paul Schuster Taylor, California Social Scientist," 1975, an oral history interview conducted by Malca Chall for the Regional Oral History Office of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Federal Trade Commission (1938-1939), and the Securities and Exchange Commission

Nathan: Well, that's very useful. And it is interesting to see that you then went to work as director of the monopoly study, which goes back to your dissertation, I think--

Blaisdell: Yes.

Nathan: --on the Federal Trade Commission. How did you come to make this move?

Blaisdell: In the years immediately before World War II, questions were being raised as to the significance of monopoly and competition within the economy. This was not only an interest of the Roosevelt administration, but it was also a continuing interest of the Congress. Historically the Congress over the years has had its ups and downs in its struggles over monopoly and the anti-trust movement. The distinction between public utility monopoly and regulation and those who believe that anti-trust legislation was the proper approach to all forms of economic control came to a sort of climax in the senate, when Senator O'Mahoney made his proposal for a widely comprehensive study of the American economy, which was still in a degree of depression.

Nathan: Right. This would be '38 and '39?

Blaisdell: Yes. This interested me, particularly because it had been one of the topics that I had developed in the dissertation I wrote at Columbia back in '32. It was focused on the Federal Trade Commission.

Possibly a word about the commission is fitting at this point, because when Roosevelt became president, one of the issues on which attention had been focused was the financial manipulation which had been so questionable during the closing years of the Hoover administration. Could a private enterprise system continue, or were government regulation or competition the only ways in which this could be brought under control? When the administration took over control, the Federal Trade Commission was the first point at which these problems were focused.

Investigations which had already taken place proposed the establishment of a Securities and Exchange Commission, somewhat parallel to the original ideas of the Federal Trade Commission. This was so true that some of the members of the Federal Trade Commission eventually became members of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

My own memory of those personal relationships within the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Trade Commission have become very vague, more than they should have in view of the time that I spent on those activities in that year.

The senate committee, headed by Senator O'Mahoney, and its small staff had drawn up the series of studies to be undertaken by different parts of the federal government. Not surprisingly, some of that work was passed out to the Securities and Exchange Commission. Other assignments were made to different other parts of the government, including the Federal Reserve System. The part of the numerous studies assigned to the Securities and Exchange Commission involved primarily investment banking and private insurance. The insurance companies were regulated, presumably, in the states in which they were chartered. The same was true of other corporate banking facilities which were under a degree of control, both by the Treasury, the Federal Reserve System, and also by the comptroller of the currency.

Unfortunately for me, the chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission was William O. Douglas, and I found that our minds ran in different channels. In the course of the work I had thought I was initiating, I shortly discovered that the chairman had had different ideas and had started two lawyers on entirely different tracks. The question: how was I to try to put together with the chairman what we were going to really do? In any case, the way the work proceeded, hearings occurred before the senate committee and the two lawyers who had been chosen, Mr. Peter Nehemkis, a lawyer, and Mr. Gerhardt Gesell, an economist, proceeded with their parts of the study. Later some of this material was integrated with a major contribution from the Federal Reserve Board and its research staff, which in my mind overlapped the work of these other two divisions.

Industrial Committee, National Resources Planning Board

Blaisdell: With the closing of the hearings the chairman and I decided to separate. I moved to the National Resources Planning Board.

Here again, we are in an area of primary interest to me because I became chairman of what was known as the Industrial Committee of the National Resources Planning Board. This takes us into a series of questions having to do with that magic word known as planning, because the name "Planning Board" was a red flag to Congress.

President Roosevelt had named it, based on the inspiration of several political scientists at the University of Chicago and New York that a study should be made of the organization of the presidency, and how he should operate as president.

Nathan: Did this have to do with the coming of World War II?

Blaisdell: No, this was not part of the World War II activities, which came later. This, again if my dates are correct, would be about 1936.

Nathan: That early?

Blaisdell: I would think so. There's no great problem. The chairman of this commission was Louis Brownlow; other members were Charles Merriam of the University of Chicago, and Luther Gulick. The basic recommendations of that Brownlow commission were accepted by President Roosevelt. The heart and soul of the recommendations were that the Budget Bureau, which at that time was in the Treasury, be moved from the Treasury to the Office of the President. And then on the commission's recommendation the Office of the President was to be called the Executive Office of the President, which was to have several other parts. The Budget Bureau was the center of it, and the attempts by others to replace the Budget Bureau were never successful. To this day what is called the Bureau of Management, Organization, and Budget remains at the heart of the president's activities.

The other recommendations involved particularly personnel and planning; namely, there should be a National Resources Planning Board, again, consisting of a very small group of individuals. It was headed by Mr. Frederick Delano, who was the President's uncle. Mr. Delano was a highly qualified engineer who had been a railroad builder and whose thinking was very broad scale. In addition to Mr. Delano there was also Mr. Merriam, Mr. Henry Dennison, Mr. Beardsley Rumml. The executive officer was Charles Elliot, who was in many ways the heart and soul of the organization of the board. There's no point in ducking the immediate major struggle as far as the board was concerned, because the principal opponent was the Congress. In spite of the assumed power of the President in relation to the Democratic Congress, this was one area where the Congress insisted that it have its way as contrasted with the President having his way.

The National Resources Planning Board was officially part of the Executive Office of the President. It had been established under the Committee on Budget Organization; the budget was removed from the Treasury and became part of the executive office. Theoretically, according to the documents,

the National Resources Planning Board was to be the president's organization for national planning.

In that group that was organized under the chairmanship of Mr. Delano and the directorship of Charles Elliot, the attempts on the part of a planning board rarely did find their way directly to the president. The fundamental politics of this was that the Congress said, "We are the planning board for the government, not the president, and constitutionally this was the way in which the government was established." The president was supposed to carry out the plans.

In this connection the attempt to establish the presidency as the dominant position really became important only because Roosevelt was president, and he was the dominant figure. So there was a difference between the political theorists' idea of the place of the president, the president's idea, and the congressional ideas. Roosevelt's great skill in interrelationship, not only with the Congress but also with the Supreme Court, reflected itself in a number of different ways and different periods during the Roosevelt administration.

Nathan: Did you have an opinion as to whether more power should be concentrated in the hands of the president?

Blaisdell: Well, at that time my opinion was very largely, "Where was I working?" Mr. Elliot, who was the director of the National Resources Planning Board, Charles Elliot, wanted to persuade me that the Resources Planning Board was something which the president was paying attention to. I had my own doubts. But at that time my feelings went along with this view; if the president is going to accept recommendations from the Resources Planning Board, this is fine. The question is, what's actually happening?

The Goose Creek Meeting (1938)

Blaisdell: You will find here--

Nathan: That's the Joseph Lash book?

Blaisdell: Yes. He and my associate here in political science, Al Lepawsky, both referred to the same incident. This incident was a meeting which was held at what was known as Goose Creek, the name of the Blaisdell's log cabins in Virginia, in the foothills of The Blue Ridge.

- Nathan: [Reading from book] "In June 1938, concomitant with Congress' authorization of the TNEC [Temporary National Economic Committee] inquiry, the industrial committee of the National Resources group had held a memorable all-day meeting at Tom Blaisdell's farm in Virginia." (This was "Goose Creek")'
- Blaisdell: The important point here is that at the close of this particular meeting, instead of trying to formulate a general policy, each of the persons who was present was asked to submit to our NRPB office his own statement of what had been achieved. And this all became part of the record and is recorded in part in Lash's reference here. Instead of trying to say what everybody had said, we said, "Let them say it themselves."
- Nathan: I see. Were you in the Commerce Department at the time?
- Blaisdell: No. I was on the staff at the National Resources Planning Board, and I was the chairman of the Industrial Committee.
- Nathan: Right, I see.
- Blaisdell: There was also the work of the Temporary National Economic Committee, and the hearings that Congress had authorized.
- Nathan: Very good. Could you put this into the context of the time? Was this before World War II?
- Blaisdell: This was shortly before World War II.
- Nathan: Yes. The place of your meeting was called your "farm" in the book?
- Blaisdell: That's right. Actually there were three log cabins. One of them was the dining cabin, one of them was a sleeping cabin, and one of them was a general cabin for anybody who came and stopped. They were located on the banks of what was called Goose Creek. They were a great satisfaction, because we had no telephone.
- Nathan: Sounds wonderful.
- Blaisdell: [laughter] Anyhow, the long day of meeting of this collection of individuals who were participants in numerous groups of government activities, represented individual judgments on what was a dominant discussion over and over again among the economists and other responsible individuals in government.

¹Joseph P. Lash, Dealers and Dreamers--A New Look at the New Deal (New York: Doubleday, 1988), p.376.

Our question was, "How do we achieve full employment?" This fundamental question, which was so important to the New Deal, never was satisfactorily answered until World War II, when full employment was overemployment throughout the country. These were the years when women became to a great extent participants in the labor force, and their activities, both in war-related activity and in other wartime participation, was matched by other minority group participation in government work.

Nathan: In government work?

Blaisdell: In government as well as in private activity. Thus the large number of men in the armed services had to be matched in the rest of the economy by other participants, and with growing economic production. Speaking historically, this phenomenon has often been referred to as a failure of the so-called New Deal in its inability to produce full employment. We have heard such comments as, "It is only during wartime that it was possible to have full employment."

For the time being let us note that the whole group of economists and other officials who were present at this Goose Creek meeting, each recorded his own feelings as to where the government should be working in the attempt to produce full employment. This was my reason for never putting together collectively the whole set of reports. Individual reports were made by these different individuals, each of whom usually had some different analysis of the overall economic status in which we were living at the time. At this point I should refer again to the date of that particular meeting; it was June, 1938.

Nathan: Just to be sure that I understand what you're explaining, these were not official positions, these were personal analyses?

Blaisdell: These were personal opinions. Actually the official positions came in the activities within particular agencies. They could include legal opinions as well as economic judgments, or other ways by which the economy was being influenced. There was no part of the activity within the so-called New Deal which was more under discussion and under legislative regulation than the various relief activities of the United States during those years while President Roosevelt and his associates were trying to establish ways by which both private and public activity resulted in full employment.

It should be remembered also that at the time of the meeting on the farm the western world was also involved with the developments in Western Europe, particularly the activities of Hitler and his associates, which were to produce World War II. The exact dates are significant only because at the same

time that this was proceeding the United States was struggling with its various attempts to produce full employment. The attempts had only limited degrees of success.

Temporary National Economic Committee (1938)

Blaisdell: No series of activities was more important than those associated with what is now known as the Temporary National Economic Committee [TNEC] and which originated by authorization of Congress. It is important to appreciate this as a joint administration-congressional activity, and to realize that the fundamental work was associated with the activity of Senator Joseph O'Mahoney, I think from Wyoming. The executive secretary was Leon Henderson. He worked very closely with the senator and with the senator's assistants. There is a reference in this book to my association as an associate director of this activity. This is a slight exaggeration because I had very little to do with the overall organization.

Such participation as I may have had was in a different part of the activities of the TNEC. That came about when I was appointed within the Securities and Exchange Commission for the development of studies dealing with modern finance, industry, particularly capital investment, and including nationally organized insurance companies as well as other industrial organizations. I should say financial organizations rather than industrial, although the industrial, yes, were part of, had to be part of the financial set-up.

It is equally important, as far as I was concerned, to note my own limitations in this particular area of study. As I mentioned, the chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, William O. Douglas, had his own ideas as to the way in which such a program should be carried out. He had a much wider experience in this field than I did. In fact, his understanding was more involved and much more comprehensive than mine. The net result was that he and I never really saw the same lights and the same influences within the financial area. Also, in his selection of other participants within the Securities and Exchange Commission, he was prepared to carry on the work, and my own participation was secondary. As I said, the lawyer, Peter Nehemkis, was responsible for finance development; and Mr. Gerhardt (later Judge), Gesell, was responsible for the insurance investigation.

Nathan: These are in the SEC?

Blaisdell: Yes. The hearings which were involved with these two areas were of considerable importance in the development of the work of the TNEC, and their reports were part of the several hundred that were published by the Congress. Parenthetically I should remark, since it became of importance when I came to Berkeley, that one of the documents which was prepared for the TNEC happens to have been written by my brother rather than by me.

Nathan: How did that happen?

Blaisdell: The document which he produced came to have considerable significance and importance within the political science area, outside of my field.

Nathan: Could you say your brother's name?

Blaisdell: My brother's name was Donald C. Blaisdell. So it's not confusing that there was some surprise at the discovery that I was not the author of such a study. This had to do particularly with the impact on Congress of the lobbying influences, and the very heavy import at that time of lobbyists, that were not so well-known as they are in the modern day.

I should add particularly, though, in connection with the work of the Securities and Exchange Commission, that the development within the commission of the work of these two gentlemen Nehemkis and Gesell, was outstanding in the field of insurance. The study emphasized the interrelationship between the boards of directors and of the national insurance companies, each of which of course was established in a particular state, since there was no federal legislation which controlled insurance companies. This interrelationship between industrial corporate representatives and boards of directors of insurance companies was subject to considerable modification as a result of the study; this was true likewise in the field of investment banking.

It was at this time that the earliest studies became sharpened, dealing with inside information and the competition or lack of competition which existed within the investment banking field. The testimony by different investment banking officers before the Congress laid the basis for much of the work which has been developed since, and had significant impact on various developments. Thus it should be noted that my influence in the general program came purely as a reaction to various other parts of the study that took place from time to time.

The work of the TNEC collectively, with all the volumes that were published, was lacking in the influence it might have

had had it not been for the development of World War II, namely these two developments taking place at the same time. In many instances the work of TNEC was reflected later in the work of the War Production Board and other parts of the American government during World War II.

So while TNEC may have been forgotten in the light of the development of the war, the substance was far from forgotten and was incorporated in many of the studies which took place and the activities which took place during World War II.

In this connection it might be noteworthy to call attention to the work of Jesse Jones as chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. It was a national agency which had jurisdiction over the development of wartime agencies dealing with various wartime production, such as the growth of the steel industry, the growth of other activities, under demand from the military departments as well as further demands of the civilian agencies.

Nathan: I might ask you one more question if I may, on the TNEC.

Blaisdell: Please, yes.

Nathan: Who named the participants? How did they get their appointments?

Blaisdell: Interesting question, about which I know very little. My recollection is that, as Lash indicated, half of the members of the Temporary National Economic Committee "came from Congress, and the other half from the Executive." (p.375)

Work in Wartime Agencies: More on the NRPB

Blaisdell: My other activities within the National Resources Planning Board, as I have suggested, continued my association with numerous other activities taking place within the government. As chairman of the Industrial Committee of the National Resources Planning Board I continued to have this close association with various other government departments. Among the activities of the industrial committee were a widespread investigation of housing, another study which involved further developments of the Social Security Administration, and detailed studies of numerous industries, not the least of which was steel. It was at this time while I was still with the National Resources Planning Board, that the work of the National Resources Planning Board was tied into the work of the War Production Board.

My relationship at this time was to act as the third member of an informal priorities committee. The priorities committee was a three-man venture involving a colonel of the U.S. Army in the supply section and a lieutenant commander in the Naval Air Force. We had a very short-time assignment lasting a couple of months, and then at that point my assignment shifted from the National Resources Planning Board to the War Production Board where I became a member of the three-man Planning Committee of the War Production Board.

I have already referred to the interrelationship between the activities of the Planning Committee of the War Production Board and the previous work done by the staff of the National Resources Planning Board. This interrelationship between the work of TNEC, the National Resources Planning Board, and the War Production Board, is simply indicative of the links among the various economists who took part in the activities of government. During this period, in addition to previous government employees, there were also a whole group of representatives from other private agencies, which were drawn into government and became an essential part of activities such as those of the War Production Board and other wartime agencies. Likewise, there was the interrelationship between the Department of Commerce and the Department of Interior, particularly with regard to the management of the oil industry.

The story of the oil industry is one of great complexity because of a variety of agencies associated with it, including to a very large degree the oil industry itself. I had no direct connection with this work and in view of the pressure of other activities made no attempt to participate, although technically there was close relationship between the oil industry and the War Production Board. This activity was extended, as far as I was concerned, only after my transfer to the assignment in London. At that time there were a number of activities that were of great interest but with which my participation was extremely small.

As I said, at this time I had the title of assistant director of the National Resources Planning Board, and in that position I also was chairman of what was known as the Industrial Committee, a group of economists scattered around the government. They included such people as Harry White, Mordecai Ezekial, and Gardiner C. Means. We worked together on a whole series of problems over the years when I was with the Resources Board.

Relationship of Full Employment to the Steel Industry

Blaisdell: In our last talk I mentioned briefly the place of the Resources Board in relation to the Congress and the feeling that the Congress was going to do the planning for the American government and the American people. However, there were a number of very serious problems that we were interested in. Particularly at the top of the list was the idea that somehow it would be possible to have an organization of government and private enterprise together, who would make full employment possible.

"Full employment" became, in a sense, a motto that we tried to follow. That immediately suggests a whole series of problems. Among those that we regarded as particularly important were studies of social security, studies of housing, studies of large industry and particularly their interrelationships. Dr. Eveline Burns produced a major study on social security and the changing of social security over time, since it had just recently been introduced into the American government. One of the things to which I devoted a lot of time was the study of housing; that study we called "Housing: The Continuing Problem." As I remember, there were seven different factors that we paid attention to; everything from financing to construction of one type and another.

Without going into detail on this at all, I think it's probably more significant and more important to emphasize the way in which we saw the problem of full employment and its relation to particular sectors of government. It's almost the simple and obvious thing to relate employment to steel, as I mentioned briefly. The production of steel was influencing so many different parts of government that one of the things which Gardiner Means regarded as his particular area of study was the relationship of full employment to the capacity of the steel industry.

We spent a lot of time on that; the industrial committee was the principal critic of the study as it developed. However, there was a whole series of relationships that developed, particularly that very tight relationship between steel capacity measured in tons, and employment measured in people's lives. When this study was published it precipitated quite a good deal of comment.

Nathan: This was the steel study?

Blaisdell: Yes. The comment it produced came not only from the steel industry, but industry at large, in fact, so much so that the president eventually was drawn into discussion with the various

large industries, particularly the steel industry. The question of size of steel capacity and employment rates may seem to be a rather esoteric kind of relationship, but as the figures worked out, the steel industry's gross capacity of about 60 million tons was related to the magnitude of the tonnage that would be required to achieve full employment. That magnitude was more in the neighborhood of 100 million tons. The number of employees current and needed, and tonnage capacity as related in the study, highlighted the distinct differences.

This phenomenon, as I suggested, came to the attention of the President largely from the pressure of the steel industry. The President felt so strongly about it that he insisted we should make a second study. The separate study would be carried on by an industry group as contrasted with our little group at the Resources Board.

Nathan: On what basis did the steel industry challenge your findings?

Blaisdell: Fundamentally it was simply that their capacity was only in the neighborhood of 60 million tons. If they were really going to change that quantity it meant tremendous investment, it meant tremendous increase in employment, and it meant tremendous efforts in relationships with other industries. There was the fact that automobiles, as an example, used large quantities of steel. In fact, Ford also operated steel mills in producing steel for its own cars. So there were interrelationships that interested a great many people. It was not something that was to be brushed off with, "Oh well, this is just a group of rather wild-haired economists who really don't know anything about the steel industry."

The President had decided that the study should be reviewed, and a group of industrial economists was brought in to tell the President what the story really was. Time went on; not too much, because this was a major social problem. Within a not too long time there emerged a much more important problem than we were aware of at the moment. The new study gave me a major lesson in reporting economic affairs. Our study as we had envisaged it said, "If the needed relationship between employment and steel tonnage is correct, then it would be necessary to do a number of different particular things, such as major investment." How could such objectives be secured?

A new study having been made, came around and in a very nice portrayal of the situation within the industry said, "There will be no shortage of steel in the industry in relationship to employment if you do so-and-so and so-and-so and so-and-so." It was just the reverse of what we had said, we said do this first if you're going to achieve this

objective. Interestingly enough, this was sort of passed over, since the headlines all said, "There will be no steel shortage." All these things that might need doing were passed over.

War Production Board Planning Committee, and Rules on Steel, Copper, Aluminum

Blaisdell: Mr. Donald Nelson was chairman of the War Production Board, and the United States was in the middle of a war. As I said, I had been asked to join the Planning Committee of the War Production Board, and among the very first studies the planning committee undertook was that of the steel industry. People were much more prepared to listen. If we were going to war, what do we need in the way of production of steel and two other major commodities: aluminum and copper?

First results of the planning committee's work focused on steel and the steel industry staff. We said, "You must increase steel capacity." The major problem was, of course: "Who's going to do the investing?" It was possible to find funds for investment, of course, from the Treasury. It wasn't called "from the Treasury," it was called "from the National Recovery Administration." Promptly funds were made available for stepping up production. Who was going to operate the mills? Obviously, the same people who had been operating mills before.

So almost the first thing which was undertaken as a result of the decisions of the War Production Board was related to steel, aluminum, copper. The steel, the copper, and the aluminum are, not surprisingly, those things from which aircraft and tanks and ships were made, and casings for our ammunition. Those three became the key commodities around which the major war industries were developed. Of course, the only one that matched them in magnitude was the numbers of men who were sent to war in uniform. But if one wants the basic answer, the original quota of 100 million tons not only was met, but somewhere in the neighborhood of 120 million tons became the actual production.

The steel even began to be used for shell casings. There were hundreds of ways, places, and means to use steel. As I look back on it to those years (what is it now? 1987, so it was 40 years ago, almost a half a century) I note the decline in the production of steel and the issues that are involved, and the extent to which they no longer match what had to be done in those days. The United States was supplying steel, not

only for American production but also for the British and for the Soviet Union.

As I think about this, I remember a later visit to the Soviet Union. On that visit, which was only a few years ago now, we were conducted on a museum tour in the city of Kiev. The guide who was showing us around was showing us very brilliant maps and descriptions of what the Soviet Union had done during the war: its losses in manpower and its losses in construction. But since the little group that I was with were Americans, the one thing that he emphasized above everything else was that, "Really the United States supplied only 10 percent of our [the Soviet Union's] requirements during the war." We didn't choose to argue with him. Under those circumstances there was no point in it.

It was also probably true that the magnitude of what the Soviet Union had to achieve during World War II, including the loss of men and women, is something which to this day we don't understand at all. As a nation we never suffered during the war anything worse than having to give up a little gasoline for cars. Actually, our supplying of agricultural commodities, both to the British and to the Soviet Union, made very little impact on our own use of those same things. So I can think back; how come we were economists enough to recognize a few things that had to be done?

This famous equation between full employment and steel production is an entirely different equation today. The relationships of employment and different industries are entirely different today than they were then. So when it is said that only by producing in response to war activities did we secure full employment, the story is quite right. Of course, one must also remember that there were 10 or 11 million people in uniform, and that makes a difference, too, when you're talking about full employment.

So thinking back to the old National Resources Planning Board and thinking also of the relationships with the Congress at the time (later it was the Congress and the War Production Board) we find entirely different attitudes and points of view were involved in those days. I mentioned that the Congress was going to do its own planning. Yes, and the money that would have gone to the National Resources Board went into other things financed by government. The argument had to be solved in short periods of time.

My own relationship to these events as a member of the War Production Board's Planning Committee, was significant in a couple of other ways. One was the planning committee's insistence that civilian employment and supplies must continue

if war production was going to continue. This was one of the very difficult things which had to be said over and over and over again. It was so easy to say, "Well, let's put everybody to work. Get the war over, get the important things done, and that will be that," when the major problem was not only how many people are going to be in the war in uniform, but also, how are they going to be kept supplied with the material which was so essential, not only American troops, but also British and Soviet troops. Timing was such an important item. It just occurs to me, as I talk about it: weekly we received reports on the sinkings at sea. How many ships were lost? How much steel went to Davey Jones's locker? How much of this went down? How much of that?

Another item, just in passing. When the armies finally went into Berlin it was reported back in Washington that complete files had been found in the German war production records of the War Production Board's files. So these taught me a little bit about secrecy in war: how much and how little and how important, and maybe not so important. However, in the middle of the War Production Board assignment, a group of reorganizers were called in by the chairman of the board. Since one of the favorite tasks of the people who come in to look at a government organization is, be sure to reorganize it, the board was reorganized.

Nathan: The Donald Nelson you mentioned had been the former CEO of Sears Roebuck, right?

Blaisdell: Yes. [Tape interruption]

Nathan: So the reorganizers were at work.

Blaisdell: The reorganizers went to work and Mr. Nelson's place as chairman was taken by Charles Wilson, executive officer of General Electric.

Anyhow, the important business from my standpoint was that the planning committee no longer was necessary, so we were going to disband. The chairman of our three-man board, Robert Nathan, became a G.I. Fred Searles, who was a mining engineer, became consultant to the army's production operations. The number of people who were involved in all of this was very considerable.

Nathan: You have alluded to the importance of the connection between public and private agencies. Did you use these lessons when you were teaching on the campus?

Blaisdell: Yes. There was no question at all but what from time to time these various activities came to the work in the University.

They were used all the time. In fact, there were at least two of the gentlemen with whom I was associated in government who also were of considerable importance at the University of California. In fact both of these gentlemen at one time or another became presidents of the University. One of them, as I said, was Harry Wellman, the other one was Charles Hitch. Professor Wellman had worked with me closely in the Department of Agriculture, President Hitch in the work of the Planning Committee of the War Production Board. So it is interesting that these persons also found their way to the University of California.

Nathan: That's very interesting, truly.

Blaisdell: Now let's see, I think that's about our story. Maybe as we review it I'll see other points that I should make. But I think that's about the story. Unless you have a question from the reading of our book.

Nathan: The Joseph Lash book has been very helpful on this period. I have no question at the moment about it, but I appreciate your lending that to me.

Blaisdell: There is one other book to which we should refer, which is Hogan's The Marshall Plan.^{*} In fact it is the only place that I know of where the pre-Marshall plan work is discussed. I'll try to get hold of this, I must call Lepawsky and see if we can put it together. I reviewed the book for the Truman Library.

Tripartite Character of US Government

Blaisdell: It's not out of place in a constitutional year, in the 200th year, that we should be reminded of the tripartite character prescribed in the Constitution. It should not be forgotten that this is a struggle which has gone on ever since George Washington, and the attempts over the 200 years to separate and keep separated these three have gone on decade after decade.

Before the Civil War, there was the struggle between the states and the federal government, particularly over the issue of slavery--or perhaps I should say free land, since we don't like to think of slaves as property, which they were. There was the struggle between the Congress and the president over

^{*}Michael H. Hogan, The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

the way states were to be organized, and the way in which a state was either to be free or to be slave territory. This was, of course, the crisis precipitated with Lincoln as President. Presidents didn't seem to have the authority generally in those years which they later came to have. Even in recent years the division of three parts specified by the Constitution, the struggle over anti-trust legislation, which is often forgotten, focused on the relation between the Congress and the president.

The Interstate Commerce Commission was a creature of the Congress in the opposition. It was an attempt by the Congress to take from the president his positions of power that were involved in the Constitution. They continued to repeat this attempt and, to this day, there are a great series, a long series, page after page after page, of federal agencies which are labeled "independent agencies and government corporations." They are responsible to the Congress and not to the president. This is fundamental to American government, the struggle between the Congress and the president to retain control of those parts of the government which the Congress decided it wanted to control, as contrasted with the president and his cabinet.

The third party in the tripartite organization is, of course, the Supreme Court and its position within the system. To the student of American government, the striking feature is that all three parts--administrative, congressional, and judicial--each administers, legislates, and adjudicates: all three.

The National Resources Planning Board fell into the struggle between the president, who wanted to do his planning, presumably; and the Congress, who said, "We are the planners and we will tell the president what is to be done. He is not the person to tell us what is to be done."

Nathan: May I ask you a question?

Blaisdell: Please.

Nathan: If the president determines that he needs a particular entity, can he create it without the approval of Congress?

Blaisdell: The president not only can, but does.

Nathan: Can Congress create an entity without the approval of the president?

Blaisdell: This is the way it works. The entities get created by the president signing a directive. He has to sign the directive he

wants, to stay within the legal structure within which it is being built. It is the interrelations between these three parts which are so important, so that each of them gets a piece of the action. Examples are present on every hand. To whom is the Federal Reserve system responsible? The president? He can't touch it. The Congress has tied it up so tight that even when the president should have responsibility, he can't. The Congress is too jealous.

Take another case on the judicial side: it took the Supreme Court to decide that the 14th Amendment was to be administered. Instead of the president administering it, it is administered through the courts. The courts administer rather than the president. It wasn't until President Johnson persuaded the Congress that it was high time they got into the act that finally they drew laws which then, again, are administered in the courts. The president attempted to get the Congress to provide funds for a National Resources Planning Board. President Roosevelt brought pressure to have it continued; after all, it was very largely a group of men whom he trusted and whose judgment he appreciated. However, the time was pressing and as the months went by, shortly before the United States went into World War II it was necessary to disband and carry on in different ways. Personnel control was retained in large part by Congress, while the president's commission was to be administered by the president, so we get again a division in spite of the attempts to bring the function within the presidential structure.

In the case of personnel it is well to remember that, over the years since 1870 when we established a Civil Service Commission, the president has retained a degree of control, just as the Congress has retained a degree of control. We remember without too much difficulty the Senate's right of confirmation of some presidential appointees, which is one form of control. The senatorial approval privilege was surrendered by the president because he has no alternatives. It applied to appointing cabinet members or sub-cabinet members, or numerous other agency heads which the Congress has the right to approve. Within the Civil Service system itself, both presidents and congresses have their ways by which they control Civil Service appointees.

It used to be that the head of the postal service was the dispenser of a personnel privilege appointment. His recommendation to the president was required. I can remember very well those days when the head of the postal service, the postal director, would send around his little notes. When they were signed with green ink that meant, "Please appoint this guy." [chuckles]

Nathan: I see.

Blaisdell: But, of course, with the failure of the budget appropriation in the Congress, the Resources Planning Board disintegrated. Anyhow, there was the period when most of the work which was done by the planning board fell into the category of public policy.

Among those, one of the studies done in the division which I headed was a new study on Social Security. That new study became sort of the Bible by which changes were being made in the Social Security system over years. It was no attempt at a law; it was simply, "This looks like the way in which it might be profitable to proceed."

The work which was done was mostly under the direction of a group called the industrial committee that was primarily concerned with public policy in the industrial field. There were a number of economic studies done; not the least of these was one dealing with the steel industry. That particular study went to presidential analysis and discussion, but it took quite a while to get there, to get to the point where the president apparently had to make some kind of approval.

Now let's see, what else have I got here? I have the significance of the Budget Bureau, the Treasury, this series of relationships. In my relationship to the Executive Office of the President the most important was the parallel activity of the Budget Bureau to the president, and the interrelationship which existed between the members of the National Resources Planning Board and Harold Smith, the Budget Director.

The Budget Bureau also had its own economic analyses which were of great significance in the work of Harold Smith. Smith's influence on President Roosevelt was unquestionably very great. In fact, people used to gossip, and it would be said, "If the President wants a really tough job done, he knows the man to assign is Harold Smith."

Wartime Priorities and Personnel

Blaisdell: I need to include here two developments as part of that story, a little more than we have already included. As I mentioned, one of those activities which began with the early years of World War II was the request to military departments for a non-official but effective group to establish priorities with regard to the claims of the military services on various activities. I became the first civilian member of that group

of three men: one a colonel in the army, one a lieutenant commander in the navy, and myself. This was a very non-official organization which only later became highly efficient as a very important part of the War Production Board wartime activities.

The second one was a development of the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel by a series of meetings held with the leaders of various professional organizations: the Political Science Association, Economics Association, the whole series of national professional organizations. Technically the National Resources Planning Board drew together, in this case under the chairmanship of Mr. Owen D. Young, Chairman of General Electric, and established a national resources personnel file which became during the war a place to which everyone turned in looking for new personnel that were then collectively recorded. The personal history of each of these individuals was available, so that if a natural scientist were interested in skiing, this would all be part of the record. If you needed natural scientists looking for a skiing job, it very naturally fell together.

With respect to the steel study, financing the expansion with government money took place by Mr. Jesse Jones's activities with the funds. The actual operation which took place meant that the federal government was financing the investment and the building of the new plants by United States Steel and other steel people. Eventually these plants were transferred postwar to private activities after their creation originally with government funds.

This, of course, during World War II was standard practice: the use of government funds for development of large-scale industrial activity. It was what made possible over the wartime period that set of industrial activities that created wartime industrial capability.

Those individuals who were associated in one set of activities were also associated in the other set of activities.

Nathan: What are the two sets of activities that you're pulling together here?

Blaisdell: The work of the National Resources Planning Board and the work of the staff of the War Production Board's Planning Committee.

Nathan: I see.

Blaisdell: Here one of the interesting items that comes to mind in my personal history is the meeting of the Planning Committee of the War Production Board. When the question was raised, are we

building enough steel capacity at 100 million tons, Mr. Nathan, chairman of the committee's comment was, "My feeling is if we can't win this war with 100 million tons, we're not going to win it." In other words, he was perfectly satisfied that we had a capacity which was capable of doing the job.

Forming Wartime Policy

The early work of the planning committee under Donald Nelson's chairmanship of the War Production Board fitted into the board's production program as the whole machinery of the economy with the military agencies, shipping, and other transportation agencies, agricultural programs and price regulation, adjusted to wartime activities.

It should be remembered that the whole wartime government activity had been organized with many groups of individuals and organizations, including the publications media advising the president and the Congress on the way it should be done. The War Production Board had grown out of this widespread struggle, and the struggle was to continue within the board and outside government. The War Production Board was reorganized. This development included Mr. Nelson's departure and the abolition of the planning staff.

Director, Bureau of Orders and Regulations (1943-1944)

Blaisdell: At the time when the work of the planning committee was abolished, I personally was transferred within the War Production Board to being its Director of the Bureau of Orders and Regulations. This work in effect was carrying out long-range plans with application to particular industries and companies, the work which had been developed under the planning committee and other parts of the War Production Board.

Nathan: You really saw the whole process, didn't you?

Blaisdell: Yes. By that time, with changes that had begun in those early years, we were beginning to get to the period when some

*After reading the transcript of his interviews, Professor Blaisdell prepared these written comments.

officials were seeing the possibility of the end of the war. Again, my own movements reflected what was going to happen rather than what was actually happening. I did become nominally the director of statistical planning for the War Production Board. Before I actually went to work with that board for sixty days, my appointment to London had taken place.

The Bureau of Orders and Regulations had the function of issuing the controls on industry, which were to take place and were to try to regulate the economy during the continuation of the war. In the organization of that board there were industrial bureaus which presumably had the regulation of the different industries in the country. Usually the industries were divided up so that a percentage would be allowed of one commodity or another.

The one which hit everybody was the restriction on automobile production. Automobile production was prohibited; no automobiles were to be manufactured. Automobile parts were to be available, within limits. It was regarded as part of the civilian operation, that a particular quantity of automobile transportation was on the road at all times. In other words, thinking about, "Are you going to have automobiles or are you not?" The question was, "What kind of automobiles and for what?" After all, people were riding to work; people were taking part in all kinds of activity which had to continue. The Bureau of Orders and Regulations had to decide how much of this and how much of that, and what and how long was this to continue.

I stayed in this assignment for, what?

Nathan: About two years, '43 and '44.

Blaisdell: Approximately. At that time it became clear that the end of the war was not too far in the distance, and that the nature of what was to continue had to be recognized. Back at the old National Resources Planning Board with its funds running out, the President had asked that they do a certain amount of post-war planning, thinking about what should come next. I had no participation in this at all. In the War Production Board it was recognized that the records of industries that were continuing during the war should be maintained and kept up-to-date.

It was clear, as I indicated, that changes were coming. What were the changes, and what was my part in any of it? I was surprised a little bit when they asked if I would take charge of the financial record part, the industrial records of the whole operation. I had only sort of moved into the office without having any part in the operation when I was moved

again. This time the records that were being used as part of the War Production Board's activities were transferred to an agency under the direction of Jimmy Byrnes. He was the former member of the Supreme Court and had become, at President Roosevelt's request, the special advisor to the President on domestic affairs.

Since the record business that I was presumably going to take charge of obviously was going to be part of that operation, Byrnes asked if I would continue and stay on with that operation.

Nathan: Are we now in the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion?

Blaisdell: Yes. Reconversion was the key. Just why the changes hit me so quickly and in so many different ways, I can't imagine. Lots of people were being moved around, and lots of people were trying to find their place.

Mission for Economic Affairs (Foreign Economic Administration)

Blaisdell: I went to the office one morning, and the telephone rang. I've forgotten who it was--there was a series of phone calls--who said I was being congratulated for a new appointment. I said, "Well, this sounds very nice, but what's it all about?" They said, "Haven't you read the morning Post?" I said, "No, I haven't." They said, "Well, you have been appointed as the director of the economic affairs office in London with the rank of Minister."

Eventually I received a letter of appointment. I should simply mention that the repetition in this letter of a long series of activities under my control in Europe represents so many of the different agencies with which I was associated.

Nathan: We might just say this is a letter of March 13, 1945, when President Roosevelt named you Chief of Mission for Economic Affairs in London with the rank of Minister, and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library had very kindly sent us a copy.

Blaisdell: Yes.

Nathan: So this list of agencies included things that you were already aware of?

Blaisdell: Many of which I was already acquainted with.

Nathan: We will plan to bind the letter into the memoir.



Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., probably in 1945, when President Roosevelt named him Chief of Mission for Economic Affairs with the rank of Minister.

Blaisdell: Yes.

[Pause]

I'll have to add a little something to this, but at the moment I want to think about it. This is a long list of agencies and the official authority of dealing with them was much larger than any individual could carry out in any detail. Assignments at other times--such as the later work dealing with coal in the international affairs--left responsibilities which were very heavy. But this responsibility came very largely by the character of the commodities rather than the particular agency with which they may have been from time to time associated.

Nathan: Very interesting, yes.

[Blaisdell: Well, there's one very minor detail, question. As we go along here within our manuscript, here's a knock on the door, "this is a student calling," etc. etc. I've crossed that out; is that right?

Nathan: Of course, that's exactly right. After you have given me all of your comments I will go over it, put it together--

Blaisdell: Consolidate it.

Nathan: And then you can see it again.

Blaisdell: All right. Just so we don't get some of these ad hoc comments.]

Blaisdell: Back to London, and it was the Mission for Economic Affairs.

Nathan: That's how you learned about it? By the phone call?

Blaisdell: That's how I learned about it. This agency was part of the Foreign Economic Administration that had originally been headed by Vice President Henry Wallace. Because of the series of changes a new administrator was appointed, with whom I was not acquainted. The only thing that I knew about that particular operation was that it was chaired by Philip Reed, who was the former chairman of the General Electric Company.

Before Mr. Reed, Mr. Averell Harriman had been the first chairman of that committee. At the time President Roosevelt named Mr. Harriman the Director of the Office of Lend-Lease. Obviously Lend-Lease was still one of the things which was part of its assignment, but it had acquired a whole series of other

responsibilities, many of which I couldn't name even if I were supposed to. And at that time I knew nothing about them.

Well, it was a day or so before I received a letter from the President which gave me that particular assignment. I was in the position of asking, "What's this all about anyhow?" because the only thing I could admit was my ignorance, and the problem of what was I supposed to take on and what was I supposed not to take on. Well, I only was more confused as I began to talk with the deputy in the Foreign Economic Administration, in whose office apparently the appointment had originated. My own inquiries were what I was going to be called upon to do, and when I went. The one thing I knew was that I needed a good deal of briefing as to what I was to do. As it turned out, it was the one thing I was not to get.

I was very fortunate in some ways, because of the two men in the particular operations, one in the State Department and one in London. In London, John Winant was ambassador, and Cordell Hull's successor as secretary of state was Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. I knew both these men, and so I did what came naturally: I talked to the secretary of state and I talked to the ambassador. This, of course, was by phone.

Nathan: Was there any feeling on your part that you might be impinging on some of their interests or prerogatives?

Blaisdell: I knew I would be impinging on those, and the only point was if this is that kind of situation, then I'd better not be in it. So the problem of decision was, where do I fit, and how? The association with the secretary of state had come during the days when I was with the Securities and Exchange Commission, because he had been the chairman of the United States Steel Corporation. I had gotten to know him in those days.

So I was fortunate in this regard, and I counted myself doubly fortunate; because as I talked with the secretary of state, he said, "Tom, this isn't what we planned." I said, "Who's 'we'?" "Winant and I had planned that the State Department Economic Division would take over that work of the embassy and the work of the Foreign Economic Administration in the embassy. The President has decided this differently. Under the circumstances I think the only thing is for you to take the job, and I'm perfectly frank to say to you that I can't imagine anyone I would rather have." So much for the secretary of state.

By telephone with Ambassador Winant, the story almost repeated itself. At the same time, he told me that Mr. Hawkins, earlier supposed to take the job, was in Washington at that time, and he would be returning within the next few days.

Maybe I could talk to him and we could find a relationship which we could work out. Harry Hawkins was his name; he was economic counsellor at the embassy.

I talked with the deputy at the Foreign Economic Administration, but was only beginning to get a vague idea of what was coming up, when the secretary's office called to say, "The ambassador's plane will be leaving in 48 hours. Do you think you could get aboard?"

Nathan: Was your wife to accompany you?

Blaisdell: Yes, but not that quickly. Her position at that time was working with the United Nations Relief and Reconstruction Administration, the result being that she was not free at the time. In fact, when the assistant secretary of state for passports called her and said, could they take care of the passport for her, she said, "No. I have my job I have to do." So their comment was, "That's OK. When you want the passport let us know." Eventually as things turned out she succeeded in getting a continuation of her UNRRA employment and came to London where we had a flat together. But that was some months in the future.

At the time there were four of us who flew back to London on the ambassador's plane. I found an office waiting, a car waiting and available, all of which, in my life, was something quite unusual. Now to learn the new job. For the first time I really became sorry that I was not a record-keeper, because there were so many things going on, and they were all going on at the same time. The question was, "What was I doing there anyhow?"

Nathan: Was there a staff waiting for you?

Blaisdell: The staff consisted of more people than I could imagine. Fortunately, there was the equivalent of an administrative officer who had been with the operation since Mr. Harriman's time. He and Reed had been on very good terms, and he was thoroughly acquainted with what was originally planned by the ambassador and the secretary of state. So somehow we rather fell together.

I, recognizing the ambassador's position, and thinking I understood the secretary of state, was to get acquainted with the people who were actually the representatives of the various departments of government who had assignments in the Foreign Economic Administration in its activities in the embassy in London. I should not say "in the embassy." One of the fundamental difficulties was that the FEA were not in the embassy, and the secretary of state, the ambassador, all were

convinced they should be. So in my book, the most important thing I had to do was establish my relations with the staff in the embassy.

At the same time, I was getting acquainted, as much as I could, with the people who were members of "my staff." Fortunately I had not only a superior executive officer, but also a superior secretary, to whom I pay my compliments without hesitation. She was a British lady who understood as much about what was to go on as I did; she had been there from the beginning when the office was first established and Mr. Harriman had landed in London, and without hesitation had gone directly to Churchill's office from the plane. That was the beginning of Lend-Lease.

But this was now years gone by, a couple of them, and Mr. Harriman was ambassador in Moscow. The saddest years of the war were past. It was fairly clear with the landing in London that the scene was changing very rapidly. The first few days there were bomb attacks. Hyde Park was a favorite place; the American Embassy was not too far from Hyde Park. The buildings were still being destroyed, but by comparison with what had been, it was quiet, and people were less bothered.

Nathan: So it was beginning to be a little quieter in London, and you knew things were changing fast?

Blaisdell: At first I was lucky in moving into an apartment with other people who were in the same administration: my executive officer and several people, among them a gentleman named Eric Biddle, who was an appointee of the Budget Bureau back home. There was an amusing incident with him. He was one of the few lucky people who owned a motorcar. He had no place to park it, so the question was, "Where shall I leave the car?" Every few days he would forget where he had left it.

His was a fascinating assignment, because he was in effect the historian of much that was going on in the embassy at the time, and also kept the record of what was going on in the Mission for Economic Affairs. We were good friends; we had known each other in Washington, and for many years after the war was over we maintained our friendship. I never did find the way throughout the full staff because there were so many different agencies of the federal government in addition to the embassy that had offices in London: War Shipping Administration, not part of the embassy; Lend-Lease, not part of the embassy.

Looking Toward the Marshall Plan and Post-War Allied Forces

Blaisdell: With respect to the work within the Mission for Economic Affairs in London, one of the things we recognized immediately was that the new post-war relationships were going to call upon activities which later were associated with the Marshall Plan. But at that time the concept of an overall American relationship had not yet developed. We considered what should the offices of the United States within Western Europe be thinking about in relation to the coming economic developments, about which we of course could not know anything. We simply knew that there would be organizations. The most important question at the moment was, "What was the relationship going to be among the Soviet Union, the United States, France, and Great Britain?" They were the countries which would be functioning within Germany, and they would be--particularly the military forces--responsible jointly.

I should note that although at the time it was not clear just what part France was to have in this set of relationships, over the years the participation in international affairs by the United States in its relationship with France required the closest kind of cooperation between the two countries. In fact, that relationship was so close that, while President Truman was president, what later became the Vietnam War was a matter of negotiation between France and the United States. This connection between the French and American governments at the time of the close of the war with Germany, meant that the relationships among France, the United States, and Great Britain and theirs to the Soviet Union was close, although never easily augmented.

It is worth remembering that the struggle over the place that Germany was to have in the European picture, come the end of the war, was also part of the negotiation between the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as Great Britain and France.

In those earliest months, our office in London and the economic counselor of the embassy had their first connections with the similar activities of the French economic counselor of the American embassy in Paris. We held one rather important although short-lived meeting in Paris. It was in the winter of 1946 when the coal supply for the American embassy in Paris was so small that those of us who went to the meeting were very careful to take our heavy overcoats so we could participate actively in the meeting. The record of those meetings I have no memory of, but I do remember very clearly the early meetings and the understanding we had with regard to the future that was to be.

Part of the understanding that was developing with the Soviet Union was that they were going to secure supplies and machinery in Germany. Considerable supplies were seized by the Soviet forces in Germany, taken to the Soviet Union without waiting for formal agreements between the countries that were involved, particularly the Germans. (Germany was obviously to be under military control during those months of negotiation of the treaties between the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France.)

Lend-Lease and President Truman

Blaisdell: I think this is the proper time to note the Lend-Lease facet of the job, because it operated almost automatically; it didn't need my hand in any way. The staff was there, they knew what had to be done, and they did it. So I think I was wise enough just to keep my hands off, and understand that when people are doing their job, you don't try to tell them how to do it.

Anyhow, there came a time when I went over. I remember now, it was about the middle of March 1945. A month later, President Roosevelt died and, in a sense, the bottom dropped out for everybody, including the prime minister. The number of happenings at that particular moment I can remember only too well. Of course, at night curtains had to be pulled; lights could not be shown. In the morning the servant always came in and opened the curtains. That morning the servant came in, opened the curtains--Biddle and I were there--and he said, "Poor Mr. Roosevelt is gone." This was the way we learned of Roosevelt's death.

Well, not only was the war going on; our work had to go on. We were approaching the end of the war, and it was early fall. I had a visitor from Washington, Will Clayton, who was undersecretary of state in charge of economic affairs. He was in my office and we were talking about various things, particularly Lend-Lease and the continuation of Lend-Lease with the end of the war. That particular moment had been announced: that the war essentially was finished and that questions about the continuation of Lend-Lease were to be settled very shortly. Mr. Clayton called by phone to Washington, talked with the presumed chief of those operations, of which Mr. Byrnes was the head, and was told that the question of continuation of Lend-Lease was a very serious question at that moment.

Nathan: What would your own preference have been? Was it your position that Lend-Lease should continue?

Blaisdell: With respect to the gentlemen who were advising the president, we must remember that these were not officials in the Department of State; three of them were people in the economic administration's continuation in the Byrnes organization. The line of command which went to the president meant that President Truman was making decisions with their advice; they were not going through the State Department.

Here one must remember that President Roosevelt in his relationship with the State Department had never felt particularly close. He was not handicapped, because he didn't give the department that much consideration. His relationship with the State Department and Secretary Hull is now well-known to have been that of friendly relations but not much administrative control.

Nathan: He depended on others?

Blaisdell: He depended on others. Before we were in the war, Sumner Welles as undersecretary had been sent to Europe to do the diplomacy of keeping Hitler out of war. President Roosevelt's relationship to the State Department was far more to assistant secretaries than it was to the secretary himself.

Secretary Hull and Reciprocal Trade Agreements

Blaisdell: The secretary of state had control over all tariff matters, particularly reciprocal trade agreements. Reciprocal trade agreements had been invented by Secretary Hull when he was chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, and he knew more about tariffs than any other individual. It was one of the great achievements of the Roosevelt administration to recognize that with the reciprocal trade agreements, the president could do things which otherwise he would not have been able to do.

Nathan: What sorts of things?

Blaisdell: There was the exchange of commitments between countries, in which trades could be made between different commodities rather than on single commodities. That goes on to this day, the establishment of the trade that is impossible, unfortunately, in this administration of President Reagan. There are different forces at work, both within the president's administration and in the Congress. Conflicts include those in relation to the reciprocal trade agreements, the act under which it is still functioning. Because after the war the

various ways of operating became a little different, although essentially the program is nominally the same. But the world has changed.

This kind of relationship between President Truman and his advisors meant that although the State Department had been given very large leeway in their briefing the president, the relationship which had been created with President Roosevelt still was yet to be really healed. The new secretary of state and the results in the relationship with President Truman were to be reflected in the years to come, when General Marshall, Secretary Dean Acheson, and numerous other people were more directly to be the right hand, left hand of the President.

There were a whole series of other things which were gradually to begin to unfold. I've mentioned Lend-Lease. How long was it going to continue? The gentlemen who had advised the president that legally he had to cancel Lend-Lease were to be informed by other legal authority that it was not so, and that there was a good deal of freedom in what could and could not be done. A number of issues were to come, a number of things in addition to Lend-Lease, for example.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was to largely replace Lend-Lease, and was asked to take on other responsibilities in Western Europe at a time when relationships with the Soviet Union were to be anything but easy.

General Marshall was back in Washington; General Eisenhower was commander in Europe. The memory is still very clear of General Eisenhower's speech in Guild Hall in London. It was one of the addresses which stands out as one of the greats, at a time when victory had actually come in Europe.

Churchill at the US Embassy

Blaisdell: I should also, I think, make part of this story that incident at the embassy on V-E Day, because it was one of the few occasions when the Prime Minister [Winston Churchill] came to the embassy. It wasn't a long visit; he had a good many other calls to make at the time.

He came to see Ambassador Winant, and, as you can well imagine, if he was coming to the American Embassy he was not going to see only the ambassador. There were plenty of other people who were going to be seen along with him, and Churchill wouldn't be Churchill without taking advantage of his

opportunities. Having paid his respects to the ambassador, and the ambassador promptly indicating that there were some members in the embassy that wanted to see him, the whole embassy staff became immediately available and Churchill had his few remarks to make. Again, we saw the striking capacity of Churchill for sensing what the timing calls for. After having paid his respects to the military services, he brought his few words to an end with the statement, "And now we will show the Japs the kind of people we are."

Nathan: Did they cheer him?

Blaisdell: Oh, I mean, of course, it was to the rafters. I can't say the years went on, because it was the months that went on and the weeks that were going on. I have mentioned a couple of incidents that came within those few days and few hours and few weeks at the end of the war, the immediate criss-cross of relationships which had to be straightened out.

Conversation with Keynes

Blaisdell: I think to this probably should be added also, one of the interviews that turned out to be a great disappointment. My respect for John Maynard Keynes couldn't have been greater. He was to be the British government's negotiator for the pending loans from the United States to the United Kingdom. He had been active with the establishment of the Bretton Woods agreements. He was, more than any other individual, influential in the development of British policy immediately following the war in relation, particularly, to financial affairs. The air was full of, "How will the financing of the immediate post-war issues be taken care of?" The obvious answer was, of course, the United States will do what should be done.

The particular incident was a lunch that I had with Keynes. We were talking about, "What's the program, what should it be?" There was a lot of talk at the time about \$5 billion being made available to the British government. As it turned out that was a little much. Anyhow, the French were also to be given a loan.

The talk went on and on, and Keynes had discouraged me a little by the terms that he was talking in, of his \$5 billion, which he had made up his mind on, and also particularly the timing of his trip to Washington. It was late summer and I was urging that he go to Washington very quickly, that he not wait, and that he do his best to settle what could be settled at the

time, because I had my own convictions that the arrangements had to be brought to a close, and the quicker the better. There were a lot of reasons in the background for this, and for anyone that was associated at all with that period it doesn't take much imagination to see what they were.

The Chancellor [Keynes] kept resisting and I kept pressing, "You must go early." He said, "I am going in September." He had made up his mind; he was a man of great determination. That had its advantages as well as disadvantages. But that was his decision, and he didn't go until September. The negotiations proceeded at that time before he returned to London. Meantime I had returned to the United States, because I came back in October.

Anyhow, as a personal interest item to add at this stage, both in regard to Mr. Keynes and in regard to my mind, although it really has no great importance--one of the things that I was taking care of when I came back was my teeth. I went to the dentist, a man who had taken care of me for some years. Anyhow, he was like many dentists in talking to his patient when the patient can't answer. The conversation went in terms of, "Did you ever know Lord Keynes?" to which I had to admit, "Yes, I have known Lord Keynes." Well, I proceeded to receive a lecture on the gold standard. Knowing also a little bit about the gold standard and whatnot, all I could do was answer with grunts. He said, "You know, when Lord Keynes was here, he came to me to have one of his teeth taken care of, and I said to him, 'Lord Keynes, that tooth must be extracted.' He said, 'No. You will please drain the tooth and I will take care of it when I go back to London, which I am doing shortly.' I said to Lord Keynes, 'You will have that tooth extracted or you will be dead in six weeks.' He said, 'Please do as I ask.' Well, he was dead in six weeks." It was obviously a case of poisoning, which happens. Of course the report was he died of heart failure. Well, same thing.

So anyhow, there was a need at the time for a man of his stature and his abilities; there were other people, yes, because there had to be. In London the tide had shifted because there was a new government, and the new government was the Labour Government. My friends all said, "Of course, Churchill will be back as prime minister," and then he wasn't. Again, changes were to come in the world as a result of that happening; the changes that I became sensitive to, with the feeling that they were essential, kept pressing me more and more.

Social Destruction of Western Europe

Blaisdell: The one change I think which was most important was what I reported to numerous congressmen and senators who came by. (I got to have the feeling that the most important job I had was talking to congressmen and senators, and to business people coming through the office all the time.) The story that I had was in many ways very simple, and yet few people seemed to understand: Western Europe is socially destroyed. This is not just a question of military destruction, of damages that took place, which they did.

It was the loss of the people who would have rebuilt Western Europe, some of whom I had been privileged to know. Not big names--what you would call little people, businessmen, government officials, who were killed. But more than that there was this society that had been destroyed, where the boss in the office was no longer there. The controls were no longer there. Financially, the money wasn't available.

The money for the British and the money for the French was available, but that was talked through Congress and it was not to be enough. My sensitivity to what had to happen was that Europe had to be rebuilt if it was going to really change and become powerful, take any part in what was going to be in the world to come.

I should probably add at that particular point something which I have seldom said, and that is that one of the judgmental mistakes which seemed to be made was that the offers made to the French and the British were not made in any bona fide sense to the Soviet Union. It is conceivable that a slightly different approach might have had different results.

However, we weren't to come to that until the Marshall Plan, and the Marshall Plan was still in the distance. The changes in the administration in Washington were still in the offing and President Truman was making his name. He was finding how the presidency operates. I think he still gets inadequate credit when one appreciates the problems that were facing him during that period.

Nathan: Earlier were you saying that if Keynes had come in the summer, things would have worked more easily?

Blaisdell: That was my feeling.

Chief Justice Warren, Presidents Hoover and Truman

Blaisdell: I have a note about the interrelationship which existed among the three men, Hoover, Warren, and Truman; this was a personal relationship. When Chief Justice Warren was Attorney General of California, he was active in the segregation of the Japanese.

Nathan: Oh, right, the whole relocation project.

Blaisdell: Yes. That was done by the army at that time and Justice Warren referred to this on numerous occasions as one of the things that he was particularly regretful of having happened at that time. That makes my mind run to Warren as the leader of the Supreme Court at the time of the unanimous court decisions on desegregation. It is also worth noting that this personal relationship of President Truman and Governor Warren was first established when Warren was the head of the Masons in California and Truman was the head of the Masons in the State of Missouri. The two gentlemen had known each other that way in their earlier relationships, while Truman was still in his activities in Missouri and Warren was active in the State of California.

Nathan: How did you find out this interesting connection?

Blaisdell: I talked with President Truman's counsel. I think it is well-known; there is President Truman's portrait in which he has the Masons' little apron that is worn by the head of the Masons. But this interrelationship was so great that when Chief Justice Warren was still Chief Justice, he became a member of President Truman's Library Committee. This was the Harry S. Truman Library Institute for National and International Affairs. When President Truman was not present for the meetings of the board, Justice Warren acted for him as chairman of that committee.

I am not aware that this relationship was any closer than that.

Well, let's just put this on the record, because in one sense it's quite important. Before President Truman ran for the second term, during this period it was widely assumed that Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York would be the next president. During the early period President Hoover worked very closely with Harry Truman as to what the government was going to be under the new president, assuming that he would be a Republican and that President Hoover would have a great deal to say on the organization of the presidency and what was going on in government. As it turned out this association between President Hoover and President Truman didn't work out as

anticipated by President Hoover and by the Republicans. It is noteworthy, however, that President Truman did continue his work with Hoover after his re-election and used the work President Hoover had done on organization of the federal government and what he wanted to accomplish. So this interrelationship between President Truman, Warren, and Hoover as three distinguished gentlemen continues its importance.

Nathan: From time to time you have spoken about personal relationships in government. I wondered how important they are in your experience.

Blaisdell: Well, I think they continue to be important, both positively and negatively. It is certainly true that President Roosevelt had close relationships with so many different individuals who later participated with him in various types of government activities. There was his intimate relationship with Harold Smith as Budget Director, but Smith would be only one of fifty people with whom Roosevelt personally maintained his connection. His association with Mrs. Roosevelt included a variety of circumstances.

This intensely personal activity of both President Truman and President Roosevelt is so significant that when I read of the existing relationships between President Reagan and his closest associates like Attorney General Edwin Meese, I understand a little bit about how significant these intimate relationships between the President and other associates can be.

Of course, President Roosevelt also had his so-called Kitchen Cabinet. There were his relationship with Wall Street, and his acquaintance with the first chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, the father of President John Kennedy, Joseph Kennedy. President Roosevelt had a close association with Joseph Kennedy when he was Roosevelt's supporter in the presidency. Then there was Roosevelt's separation from Kennedy because of the feeling with regard to Hitler. It was this kind of intimacy which made President Roosevelt so powerful.

Now I've got down here something entirely different. It has nothing to do with this--

Nathan: That's fine. We can hop and skip as you wish.

Blaisdell: Books that I need--Carlos Fuentes. This is a book named Aura. The book is used in the secondary schools of Mexico as important to Mexican children, students. I want to know what it's about, because there are lots of things going on in Mexico today, and Fuentes has been one of the great authors. So we shall see.

International Relations, Reciprocal Trade, and the United Nations

Blaisdell: I wanted to talk a little more about the work in London which later was to be recognized as of considerable significance-- shall I say, pre-Marshall plan. I think I have mentioned that immediately after the end of World War II the work with which I was connected in the Foreign Economic Administration was such that I became very sensitive to the level of social activity in Western Europe. For one thing, I noticed the number of private American business visitors from different corporations who were highly sensitive to the potentials of doing business in the new Western Europe. Also immediately important was the interrelationship between the British government and the governments of the other Western European countries and also the Soviet Union.

It must be remembered that the Soviet Union was still part of the organization of the American military structure against Germany. Presumably at the close of the war there would be a close working relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States, France, and Germany. Just what the program would be was not announced, and for those back in Washington who had been thinking and working on the United Nations concept and organization, the development of the United Nations was, I think we should say, the major concern.

Within the Department of State was an even more sharply organized activity for the development of free and open trading between countries. As I said earlier, Secretary of State Hull was the great expert on tariffs and foreign trade; he had been head of the committee on tariffs of the Senate when he was appointed by President Roosevelt as secretary of state. His major interest was in the development of the free trade organization. Properly the State Department had a major interest in the development of the proposed United Nations trading agency which, as part of the work of the proposed United Nations, was taking place at the time in Cuba. While the negotiations continued for many months they were never successful in the final establishment of a foreign trade entity within the United Nations. The State Department and the Congress tied hands in this regard: when they were unable to secure the kind of trade organization they wanted, they finally established with Secretary Hull's blessing the basic organization, now functioning, of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements international program. The most significant facet as far as the United States was concerned was that this focused the activities dealing with foreign trade in the hands of the president, and the president's capability to negotiate with foreign countries outside of the Congress.

Nathan: Did this later relate to the Kennedy Round?

Blaisdell: Oh yes. When the Kennedy Round came it was part of this program, basically. The beginning of the activities of the State Department and Secretary Hull began while President Roosevelt was still president.

Nathan: You were saying that the working relationship--

Blaisdell: --between the Department of State, and the United Nations in Cuba was very close. The Department of State would have been happiest with a favorable development of the work in the United Nations. However it was practical to bring together the work of the State Department and the work of the United Nations through the activities of the president where it was impossible to secure a treaty relationship within the United Nations. This ability to continue the work of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements has carried on over the years and still is a very important part of the work of the State Department, the Commerce Department, and other departments within the government.

Did I talk about Oliver Franks?

Nathan: No, not yet.

Blaisdell: Well, we had better say a word about Oliver Franks. Franks had been one of those responsible for the development of the British war planning on the economic side, and I got to know him slightly in London. However, at a later date, after I had returned to Washington, it turned out that Oliver Franks, then Sir Oliver, became ambassador in Washington. His influence in Washington went well beyond the immediate duties of a British ambassador. One can think of him as a person thoroughly at home in the interrelations between the United States and the United Kingdom during that period of the war. Probably no one was better informed among the British officials with whom I dealt.

It's interesting to note that he was probably the author of the expression, "dollar shortage"--shorthand, if one can think of it that way--as it referred to the financing of British trade immediately following the war, and the needs of Western Europe, to say nothing of the rest of the world. It called on American resources to supply various commodities to the rest of the world. The only problem that the rest of the world had was that there were no dollars to pay for them. The expression "dollar shortage" suggested the obvious answer: if there's a dollar shortage somebody has to supply the dollars.

This in a sense became sort of a byword for what eventually was to be the Marshall Plan.

Marshall Plan Proposal and the Paris Conference (1948)

Blaisdell: Further, Sir Oliver Franks, who later became Lord Franks, was chosen to serve at the time of Secretary Marshall's proposal in the Harvard speech with regard to what was to become the Marshall Plan. The British government at that time was staffed by a group of people who were very close in their working relationships with the American public relations officers from the various agencies in the American government stationed in London, in addition to the American newspapermen in London. The first word that got to London on the Marshall proposal from Harvard came through the newspapers to the British government, who were alerted, so to speak, the same night that the proposals were made. It was the British foreign secretary who answered the questions almost before they were asked. The British proposed the establishment of a European conference to be the answer to Marshall's proposal at Harvard.

Not surprisingly, after Franks' experiences and acquaintance in Washington, he became the organizing officer of the Paris Conference that drew up the original proposals that in turn came to Washington for consideration officially by the Truman administration. That succession of proposals originated in Paris with the support of the British and the other European countries that participated in drafting those proposals in great detail on the various commodities, the various industrial supplies. These were reviewed carefully by the American participants in the basic planning at that period. (It was later than my London experience.)

It happens that at the time of review I was in the Commerce Department, and much of the work on the review was done in the Commerce Department as opposed to the State Department. My association at that later period came as a member of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Marshall Plan, which was headed in the State Department by George Kennan. There were a number of meetings of that Interdepartmental Committee.

Nathan: Are you suggesting that this European response and participation was in some way unusual in intergovernmental relationships?

Blaisdell: Yes indeed.

Our office at the Foreign Economic Administration was concerned with how it might be possible to bring together the different countries working in Europe for the immediate issues of relief. With Secretary Byrnes's support an arrangement was made with the Soviet Union, France, and the United Kingdom, for the establishment of what became known as the emergency agencies: on coal, foods, transport, and general economics. The group, which began negotiations over the delivery of coal particularly--also theoretically the distribution of railway equipment for transportation, as well as several other economic activities--led to some of the early work that paved the way for the Marshall activities. However it must be remembered as I mention this that these activities for the Marshall Plan were not to come into existence until two years later. It was not until 1948 (as contrasted with 1946, which we're now discussing) that we could see what was to be for the next several years the overall activity of the Marshall Plan, and its economic relationship, that was to originate in the United States.

NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) Negotiations (1951)

Blaisdell: At the same time, after '48, we have the further development of the military program between the United States and the other Western European countries which we now call NATO. This however did not materialize until 1951 and the negotiations that took place at that time. In my own experience this did not take place until I had come to Berkeley and my activities were no longer directly associated with it, although I had been closely related with the Marshall Plan activities in Washington and had participated during those negotiations.

As accident brought it about, during the summer of 1951 I returned to Washington temporarily, and then went on to Paris for the final discussion concerning the economic relationships with the NATO organizations. My temporary assignment had to do with the proposed increases in European contributions to the NATO organization, which I must say here amounted to very little. Yet at the same time they did bring together working relationships between the military services that were involved as well as the economics and the treaties that took place at a later time.

This set of activities from the London embassy only contributed later, after my departure and return to the United States, in the continuing activities of my office in conjunction with the economic work in Western Europe as part of the United Nations. The UN was an entirely separable

structural organization, although the substantive materials continued to be essentially the same.

I think this is about the story.

Lend-Lease vis-à-vis the Marshall Plan

Blaisdell: The closeness of the interrelationships among countries that developed under the Marshall Plan, produced an independent US ambassador to each country in Europe, so that all through the operation of the Marshall Plan we had two ambassadors to each country. It's not difficult to know which ambassador most of the European countries chose to deal with. Was it the regular appointee of the State Department of the president, or was it the ambassador who had the money and the distribution of money? Also the necessity of the joint working together of two men of ambassadorial rank was something unusual. It was something which called for very great patience on the part of the participants.

The difficulties produced many of the same issues which had been encountered during the Lend-Lease period. The Lend-Lease arrangements were slightly different in use of funds from the Marshall Plan arrangements. Under Lend-Lease each of the countries who was a recipient of Lend-Lease materials supplied in payment the equivalents in their own currency, so that the British government provided pounds to be used by the American authorities in different ways within Great Britain. Just as we were making goods available with a nominal value, they were supplying whatever they had that could be supplied in reply.

When we came to the Marshall Plan, here again there were appropriations voted by the Congress as a process by which funds were to go to the various countries covered under the Marshall Plan. Again, the different countries undertook to pay in their own currency. Those currencies were set aside in most cases by the United States government in agreement with the country concerned, and were used in a great many instances for what became the Fulbright Exchange of Scholars, and are still being used that way.

However, differences of technicalities on the way in which the funds were used in one sense all hark back to Oliver Franks: If there's a dollar shortage you have to find a place to supply the dollars, which is what eventually took place.

More on the Mission for Economic Affairs, and the Agreements on Coal, Food, and Railways (1945)

Blaisdell: After this interruption of the story from the London viewpoint before I had returned to Washington, I do need to note one other rather important activity of the Mission for Economic Affairs, which was to all intents and purposes independent of the activities of the embassy. This was because of the continuation of Lend-Lease and the possibilities of using Lend-Lease in particular ways by agreement with the British and the French and the Soviet Union. Following discussions by Secretary Byrnes with British and Soviet leaders, as I said earlier, joint groups on the needs in Europe were established immediately following the cessation of military activity.

One must remember that at the close of the war, railroad cars were scattered all over the continent, in Germany, in Italy, France. Someone had to sort out what there was and what could and could not be used, and to whom it belonged. The attempts to find out who owned what, and who was going to receive payment for the shipment of import products, to say nothing about those locally developed, influenced the development of trade between the countries as well as with the United States.

With the close of the war it would seem that the number one demand associated also with food was the supply of coal. Coal was to become in the coming months of the fall and the winter one of the greatest demands on the whole economy of Western Europe. This is so difficult for us in the United States who were prepared and were shipping coal actually to Western Europe. It was literally coal to Newcastle. Coal was probably the first demand in order to not only supply heat in the winter, but also for the firing of all the furnaces for all production in Europe.

This was prior to the discovery of natural gas in Holland. It was also prior to any genuine understanding of what nuclear power might possibly become. However, it was also true that the consideration of these problems at that time immediately after the war did result in this group of temporary agreements, by which there was a distribution of the products involved, particularly food, also the coal.

One further note about the coal supplies: I think that this little committee group on coal was the first group to go to Western Europe and conduct an inspection in the German mines, as well as in the French. The British, of course, were fully in command within the United Kingdom, so the British coal supplies became available very quickly. But the German coal

supplies which were so badly needed and which came from the Ruhr and from the Saar Valley--these became part of what they called a pool for distribution where coal was needed most.

In fact the transport was the only one of these three organizations in which the Soviet Union participated. The participation was almost nothing except formal agreement to participate. On the transport side, which could have been most important, the Soviet Union was giving up nothing in the way of transport, except on a one-for-one exchange with what other countries were prepared to give them in the way of equipment, either goods cars or locomotives. The Soviet Union, in spite of what it had done during the war, was short of everything, in fact, probably more short than any other country in Europe. But still, one has to remember that the Soviet Union actually had continued to maintain its whole economy in some fashion, even with all the shortages, so that it matched Western Europe on the shortage of everything.

The availability of grain from the United States for food purposes was of course a particular requirement, not only in the Soviet Union but also in Western Europe. In fact, I think it is not unfair if I were to note that at the time when I returned to Washington in the fall of '46, the staff in my office presented me with a silver bread basket. The presentation noted, "This is given to Mr. Blaisdell in appreciation for what he has done for the bread basket of Europe." Obviously this would not appear anywhere on the record unless I do it. [chuckles]

This series of activities in one sense was a forerunner of what was to come later. After all, this was the summer of '45. The Marshall Plan was not until '48.

Nathan: The members of these three groups were all representatives of Western European countries? There was no American representation?

Blaisdell: My staff and I were the American representatives.

Nathan: I see.

Blaisdell: Someone from my staff was always participant in these activities.

Nathan: So there was some experience?

Blaisdell: There was experience there. That staff worked in my office-- by my office it means a dozen different buildings scattered around London, doing their chores. So that "my office" provided a meeting place once a week where all got together for

a discussion of what was immediately in the offing, or about to come.

This was one of the organizational bits which Mr. Harriman had started when he was the director of the office, and which Mr. Reed had continued when he had taken Harriman's place. It was, however, one of those things which I regarded as most valuable, not only for me but for everybody who had an opportunity to participate and to realize what other people of the American government, in addition to the embassy, were involved in.

More on Lend-Lease

Nathan: This is exceedingly interesting, your being able to draw the line of development from one agency to the next. Do I understand correctly that Lend-Lease was considered to be important just during hostilities, but was presumably going to end when the war ended?

Blaisdell: I think I mentioned this previously when the day the war stopped in Europe, President Truman had ordered Lend-Lease stopped.

Nathan: Right. It wasn't clear to me whether that was a fairly arbitrary piece of advice he had been given, or whether that had been the general assumption.

Blaisdell: There was no question in the mind of the administrator of Lend-Lease himself, or the legal staff of Lend-Lease. The interpretation of the Lend-Lease legislation was made by people responsible for post-war activities; one was the head of the Lend-Lease operation. He was a gentleman from Wisconsin who was nominally in charge of foreign economic administration, and he, with the president's aide, Jimmy Byrnes and one other fundamentally were opposed to Lend-Lease from the very beginning. They recommended to President Truman that Lend-Lease must legally stop.

Nathan: Yes, that was the part that you explained.

Blaisdell: The legal staff in the Lend-Lease administration promptly, along with the Department of State, persuaded President Truman for good reasons (to say nothing about the legality or illegality), that the program should continue.

Nathan: Thank you. That helps me understand.

Blaisdell: Well, it's a difficult business, because particularly the question of legal status of Lend-Lease historically is very touch-and-go. What was it we were swapping for what with the British; with the Portuguese? After all, those islands were pretty important; the Azores were pretty important. The legal arrangements focusing in World War II make one wonder about international law, as to what was involved, and when was it involved, and who was involved with it, and who had the responsibility?

These problems were not to disappear with the end, not only of the war, but of the post-war agreements with the rest of Western Europe, where the United States retained air bases, retained naval bases, kept troops established--that's been going on ever since, and that is quite a few years ago. All of this had to have some kind of legal status between the various countries that were involved.

One other very touchy issue that arose during this same period just there at the close of the war was particularly interesting, because each of the national governments in Europe, with few exceptions, is an owner of the railroads. What were the terms for transport using each railroad in each country in relation to the availability of American Lend-Lease supplies? Nice question.

With the Belgians there came some bitter negotiation that eventually was straightened out, of course. The Belgians wanted to be sure they got their dollars for use of their railroads. Presumably, if it was American goods, then it had to be paid for in dollars. And those dollars--well, there was a dollar shortage.

This whole area has been covered in a lot of literature involving just the legal questions. There is also the literature in the military services, the historical record within the military services where so much of military accounting was involved. Concerning dollar payments by American military services, air force, navy--each service, if it makes any difference--each service had its own appropriations. Who was going to take care of those payments? Then it focused in each case on the particular service and the particular one of the services that was to be involved.

So this little series of organizations never achieved any great power. It simply provided a way by which in the beginning things could find a route so they could move at least a little ways. It may be worth noting that in the Soviet Union's agreement under the transport committee, they were so careful in their handling of all of these bits of equipment and

all, that there was nothing unusual in the territory that the Soviet Union had captured from Germany.

Moving Industrial Equipment from One Country to Another

Blaisdell: During the occupation of Germany by the Soviet Union and then the creation of East Germany, so much of the industrial equipment physically was moved by the Soviet Union to the Soviet Union. This same process took place over the years.

I remember what I saw some years later, long after I had come back to the United States and was traveling in Yugoslavia. As part of the Yugoslav supplies taken from just which country I don't know--it doesn't make any difference--crossing one of the rivers, I saw the spans from three different bridges that had been taken from Germany. They were moved into Yugoslavia to be used to cross the river. This was the kind of thing which took place, and Soviet troops going back to the Soviet Union helped themselves along the way.

Don't have any feelings of righteousness about the behavior of troops when it comes to helping themselves to opportunities along the road. American troops did the same things; the handing over of occupied materials and occupied items. Soldiers are soldiers, and they do what soldiers do: they help themselves. Whether this is in Central America today or some place else, in Africa, soldiers with weapons will help themselves. Maybe they need it for supper? Who knows? Or maybe there's a free bicycle that's available. Who knows? But it is well that we remember that in wartime nobody feels himself particularly bound, no matter what the international law may be. This may not be nice, but it's the way it is.

Diplomatic and Military Views

Blaisdell: I must refer particularly back to the one incident which involved the relationships between President Truman and former President Hoover of the United States. President Truman became very close to President Hoover because of President Hoover's activities at the end of World War I when he was responsible for the development of relationships in Western Europe and the famine relief activities.

Hoover was not president at that time. However he was close to what was going on in Europe; in fact one of the most

interesting tiny items located in the Hoover Library at Stanford University is the plaque presented to him by Lenin for his work in the Soviet Union. This simply tells the story of how President Hoover was associated with that European work. President Truman was wise enough to say President Hoover should be asked what his recommendations were with regard to Germany at the end of World War II.

I remember very well President Hoover with President Truman's plane coming to London and meeting there with the British representative, the American ambassador, and with others who were concerned with those problems, including our office. President Hoover's final activities in London ended with his requesting that I fly to Brussels with him on the plane for discussion on the views of our office with regard to what should be happening in Germany and what should be happening with the rest of Western Europe. When President Hoover returned to the United States with his basic report to the president, unfortunately it was limited to his discussions of Germany, which had been his basic assignment. However, from the standpoint of our office in London it was not a question of what was going to happen in Germany, it was a question of what was going to happen in the rest of Western Europe.

In fact, my own limited discussions with President Hoover on the plane essentially were to try to emphasize that it was the whole of Western Europe which was suffering with a social collapse, rather than just Germany. The discussions over Germany and what was to happen with German policies were still being settled primarily within the military departments rather than in the State Department or in the foreign offices of Great Britain or France. The struggle between the military and the diplomatic relationships was carried on immediately by General Lucius Clay and Secretary Jimmy Byrnes. This relationship between the military services and Secretary Byrnes was an easy one. I might mention just in the aside that Byrnes and General Clay had worked together very closely prior to Clay's nomination to be head of the Germany operation and Byrnes's appointment as secretary of state. So it wasn't surprising that the two men worked well together during that period.

From London: Chaim Weizman, Israel Sieff, Simon Marks

Blaisdell: Now, let's see--let's go back to London for just a couple of remarks, because there are three names that I need to call attention to particularly. The first one is that of Chaim Weizman, who became the first president of Israel. I came to

know him in Washington during the war years because of his great skills as a chemist. He had been one of the British munitions supply officers during World War I. His acquaintance with and knowledge of chemistry was tremendous. In fact, the story is told--I do not vouch for it but the story is told--that the Balfour Declaration with the Jewish Zionist group was the product of Chaim Weizman's dealing with the British government as the result of his work during World War I.

Anyhow, his skills while he was resident in Washington during the war became exceedingly useful with his advice with regard to various industrial developments in war production. I continued that friendship after he came to London, while I was in London, and he made numerous trips back and forth. One of those is reported at length in the biographies of Truman, in the discussions between Dr. Weizman and the President, in President Truman's recognition of Israel as an independent nation. This friendship was indeed very personal and we seemed to understand each other simply as individuals. I never had knowingly any official negotiations with Dr. Weizman, but I did enjoy the friendship and his advice on many things.

The two other gentlemen were Israel Sieff and Simon Marks. Israel Sieff and Simon Marks were the owners of Marks and Spencer, the British chain store organization. In my work in those early years in Washington, I happened to become acquainted with Israel Sieff. Israel Sieff had a special interest in national planning, and his business experience taught him a great deal about the interrelationships that were involved in business dealing. Anyhow, that was my first acquaintance with him.

Later, in London, I came to see a great deal of him, again on a personal basis, and in connection with the exports and imports that we had here at home. That lasted not only during the war but after the war was over. Simon Marks was his brother-in-law. The family was exceedingly active, not only in the Zionist movement, but also in the British government. Israel Sieff was very closely acquainted with the Labour Government, although he, as well as Lord Marks--were also both strong with the Conservative and Unionist Party.

So anyhow, those are part of the London experience to which, as I think back to it now, I can only add the various quick trips that were taken to different parts of the island, visiting different industries and people associated with them. Particularly in London itself, the various British civil service and government people of one type and another were, from my standpoint, so helpful, not only to me personally, but to the government of the United States, which is more important.

This probably brings me back to Washington. On first coming back I was officially transferred to the Department of State. In fact, it was my only direct association with the Department of State. I had a few months and those months were officially "leave time." I had accumulated over the years a considerable amount of leave time which I could use as I pleased. I chose to simply say, "I'll be on leave, but I will have an office at the State Department in the economic division dealing with foreign trade."

Joining the Department of Commerce (1947-1951)

Blaisdell: As things developed, one morning one of my close friends invited me into his office to tell me that there was no longer any place for me in the State Department. I thanked him and wondered how much longer my leave time lasted. Within a few days I had a telephone call from a gentleman for whom I had great affection in many ways. He was Secretary of Commerce Averell Harriman. Mr. Harriman and I had known each other--I had known Mrs. Rumsey, his sister, back in the days of the National Recovery Administration. I had not known Mr. Harriman well at that time; shake hands and that would be about it.

Anyhow, he said he would like to have me come with him at the Department of Commerce as special assistant to him for international trade. Again, I was in the middle of a set of problems of personal character, just as I had been at the time when I went to London: friends, people asking me would I do this or would I do that. I also knew personally the man who was holding that position in the department at the time when Mr. Harriman suggested that I come to join his office. He had been appointed to his position there by Secretary Wallace, and Secretary Wallace was another one of my friends.

So the question now was, how do I feel about moving into a position which is being held by another friend? My qualifications for the job were apparently not under discussion; that seemed to be assumed; very nice. This friend of mine and I had a long, long talk about what he did and about what, presumably, if I were to come in, I would do, the job I would take. I said to him quite frankly, "If you are going to stay here, then I will tell Mr. Harriman no thank you." He said, "I was appointed by Secretary Wallace. My associations are with Secretary Wallace, and I don't feel that I can stay with this job. My resignation has been submitted."

Well, this meant that I was at least free to discuss it more at length with Harriman. There was a doubly amusing and somewhat interesting set of relationships involved here. While I was still in London and Mr. Wallace was Secretary of Commerce, I had, on one of the trips back to Washington from London, done what I usually did: called on a number of different people whom I regarded as associated with what I was doing in London. Among those was Secretary Wallace. Wallace then asked me would I consider returning to Washington, since the war was now over; would I consider coming back and joining him at the Department of Commerce. At the time I said, "No. I have not finished my job in London. When that is finished, then we can at least consider whether there's anything here that I can be useful at."

Anyhow, so we had this succession of incidents: Wallace leaving, his associate leaving, Harriman having taken over-- and the set of problems that grew between Mr. Wallace and the President. The State Department was not interested in my services. I felt with the London experience and the work there--which literally had been Harriman's assignment originally as Director of Lend-Lease and head of the Mission for Economic Affairs, and the association I had had with him as he came back and forth between Moscow and Washington and stopped off in London--I felt that he knew me. He knew what I can do. I felt very easy with him, that he was not getting a pig in a poke. So we agreed that I would come to the Department of Commerce.

Well, the work then in the Department of Commerce obviously was immediately associated with the State Department, because the field of activity was in the International Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. And the ITO had not been approved by the Congress. So here I was, back in the same kettle of fish with my old friends in the State Department.

One additional friend in the State Department was a gentleman named Harry Hawkins. He had been in the London embassy in charge of the economic work. It was for him the job of head of the Mission for Economic Affairs had been set at the time when I had been appointed. I have already told the story of the relationship between the ambassador, the secretary of state, and my appointment. Hawkins was fascinating, able in so many ways. We worked together very well.

With the end of the war and the new adjustment to be made with the different nations, and the coming proposals by the president for the Marshall Plan in 1948, I found that I was in waters with which I was fairly familiar. That area was for the next four years where I was to continue to work for some time. So those four years were of great interest.

The first of the year of '47 I took on the new assignment with Secretary Harriman. Secretary Harriman had established himself with President Truman in more ways than one. With President Roosevelt's death and President Truman taking his place, Mr. Harriman had felt his responsibility with respect to the Soviet Union to be very great, not only with the ending of the war, but with the continuing relationship with Washington and particularly the new president. He was--and I say this with full knowledge--he was very much concerned: was the president really acquainted with the relationship with the Soviet Union? How closely did he feel with it?

It was only a couple of weeks after President Roosevelt's death that Ambassador Harriman insisted that he must come back and talk to President Truman. With his return to Washington, to his great delight he discovered that not only was the President informed about the relationship with the Soviet Union, but the ambassador's cables had all been read personally by the President. This was not something which had been passed through a desk in the State Department.

A few more weeks passed and Mr. Harriman became a special assistant to the President. He hadn't been in that very long until the President said, "You must go to London as ambassador." So I had had the experience of also working with Mr. Harriman while he was ambassador; he had taken Winant's place. The experience with him in London added to his friendliness on the Commerce relationship all added up to what to me was very valuable. The net result was that we worked very well together.

At the time of Mr. Harriman's death some years later, I wrote a brief note to Mrs. Harriman. It was with great feeling that I had to say to her how I had respected him and his working relationship and what it had been when I had the strong feeling that no matter whether I agreed with him or not, he would say, "You have worked on this; you understand it; and if that's what you say, I accept it."

It was that kind of a relationship which made the next four years exceedingly valuable, even though at the end of the first two, Washington had been through the experience of the approval of the appropriations for the Marshall Plan. The negotiations that went on during that period, Mr. Harriman kept very close with all the time. He and the Undersecretary of State Will Clayton with whom I had been associated in London--I have told you the incident where he was in the office and we talked to Washington about the ending of Lend-Lease--were very close.

Commerce Staff, Leadership, and the Marshall Plan

Blaisdell: The conviction of the desirability and necessity for the Marshall Plan all fitted into the thinking between those gentlemen, as well as with my other associates in Washington.

I knew I had to deal with the set of immediate relationships of the staff within the Department of Commerce. Many of these men were appointees of Herbert Hoover when he was Secretary of Commerce, before he became President. As an old New Dealer, I was looked upon with some suspicion. However, as things worked out, I can't remember any incident where my problems were created by the staff with whom I worked. They were almost without exception people that I could trust and whom I did trust. The exception were those few who were appointed after Secretary Hoover had been there. I did have several problems, but those problems were almost entirely of a different character.

With the establishment of the Marshall Plan I was to lose friends, because the President insisted that Mr. Harriman should go to Paris and assume the directorship of the Marshall Plan activity in Europe. I think I've already mentioned that with that appointment, the whole organization of the Marshall Plan's structure and the changes which were going on in Europe called for the appointment of a second ambassador in practically every country, where he would be responsible to Mr. Harriman in Paris. The Assistant Secretary of Commerce, David Bruce, before long became the ambassador in Paris, working directly with Mr. Harriman. Also, the undersecretary of commerce went along with Mr. Harriman as his deputy. So the three gentlemen with whom I had the closest association were all gone, and the next question was in my mind, "Who will be the next secretary? And what will be my relationship?"

Well, as it turned out, I'm sure at Mr. Harriman's suggestion, President Truman appointed me as Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Shortly before, he had appointed Mr. Sawyer as the new secretary. Mr. Sawyer was a well-known Democratic politician who had been governor of the State of Ohio, and whose thinking on a number of problems was not in line with the international trade thinking of President Roosevelt or President Truman. Their attitude was far more in line with my thinking, than they were with Mr. Sawyer's.

Nathan: I wonder why someone of his opinions was named? Why was he chosen?

Blaisdell: I wish I knew the background to this, but I don't, beyond the fact that he had been a supporter of Truman when he was

senator, and when Truman became president after Roosevelt's death, he had supported President Truman. I mean, in this sense it made perfect sense to me. The same thing goes for the new undersecretary, whose name was Whitney. Mr. Whitney and I had very little to do with each other. Each of us carried out his own assignments, and as things were to develop, we had some differences of opinion in ways which were significant but not in ways that interfered with what I had to do. Mr. Whitney had been a supporter of President Truman when he was renominated and elected in his own right. Since he was a supporter at that time the appointment was a normal one to make. So as long as he and I had very little in the way of crossing duties, we got along all right.

Secretary Sawyer, knowing his differences with me, particularly in the problems that involved reciprocal trade agreement arrangements and those that were associated with the Marshall Plan, would say, "Mr. Blaisdell, will you please speak for me and testify for the department in these issues involving foreign trade?" What more could one ask in the frankness of support? So the next two years I served, so much of the work turned on the Marshall Plan and the other related international trade issues, that I felt very much at home.

Rise of Loyalty Issues

Blaisdell: There was, however, one very serious fly in the ointment. This was a period when the questions of loyalty within government became extremely difficult. Not only for many within the staff of the government, but major issues turned on the relationship between the Congress and the president, and the president's problems with the Congress on the loyalty issues. President Roosevelt had had his own problems on these issues, but in his relationship with the head of the FBI, somehow or other he had maintained a relationship with J. Edgar Hoover.

Nathan: We're talking about J. Edgar Hoover?

Blaisdell: Yes.

Nathan: Roosevelt had been able to keep some relationship with him?

Blaisdell: Yes. The questions which were raised, particularly in the Congress, that had begun in those early years, arose with regard to Alger Hiss and a number of other people who were in the Department of State at the same time that Mr. Hiss was serving there. When Mr. Hiss resigned from the State Department in order to take a position with the Carnegie



Left to right: Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer, Catharine M. Blaisdell, and Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr. Secretary Sawyer is presenting a gold medal to Thomas Blaisdell. December 1950.

Commission on International Peace, there were questions raised not only as to whether Mr. Hiss was a loyal member of the United States but what his loyalties were. He was charged with disloyalty, particularly in questions raised in the Congress. And then when investigations were held, and the Un-American Affairs Committee headed by--was it Nixon?

Nathan: Was that Joe McCarthy?

Blaisdell: Oh no, no, this was Richard Nixon, when he was a congressman on the Un-American Affairs Committee, and several other members of the Un-American Affairs Committee. At the same time questions were raised not only as to Mr. Hiss and his loyalty, but also as to numerous other members of the State Department staff. This set of questions were raised particularly as to the representatives in the Far Eastern Division, in view of the division which had taken place within China. The whole set of issues that was raised by the Un-American Activities Committee was before Senator Joe McCarthy really had made his name. That was to be at a later stage.

At the time when I was appointed as Assistant Secretary of Commerce, in conversation with senators, one of the questions was, what about my loyalty? This was not surprising. After all, Alger Hiss was the next-door neighbor to me. I had great confidence in Alger Hiss. Alger Hiss's brother was another close friend of mine. I was acquainted with and a friend of numerous other people whose loyalty was being questioned in the congressional committees. I had members of my staff in the Commerce Department whose loyalties were being questioned.

I think we'll just leave out names, but it is only fair to add that not only as the investigations and all became more and more widespread, the president had to find some way of protecting himself as well as his administration and his administrative people. The way he chose was the appointment of a Loyalty Review Board. That board, headed by former Senator Bingham, arranged for special committees within various departments to hold hearings and make recommendations to the central committee on different individuals whose loyalty was suspect. I was obviously one. Not only were all the records made available to the investigating committee, but hearings were held and all the rest of it--and eventually the recommendations were made that gave me a formal clearance.

But formal clearances are one thing; public clearances are another. And these questions--as so many people nowadays know, there are no secrets in Washington. Starting with the president, there are very few secrets in Washington. So particularly within the Congress, the senatorial and the

congressional grapevine also functions, to say nothing about the grapevine within the administration itself. So I was not surprised, as the days went on, at the different questions that came from time to time. The important questions as far as I was concerned had far more to do with friends of mine, particularly those in the State Department and dealing with Asian affairs, because I had spent time in the Far East. Not only that, but I had been recommended for an appointment in the years just before my assistant secretaryship, when the Marshall Plan was being established, as well as the relief commission, the United Nations affair. UNRRA was appointing its people in the Far East before Mao had become the head of the Chinese government.

I had been recommended to take over that relief appointment, which I had declined to take. But I, too, was immediately acquainted with and associated with those people. So the associations that were involved meant that I at least had a small reputation, and questions could be raised very easily.

There were other issues that were involved, and I should mention just one other close friend I had hired originally in the old National Resources Planning Board. Later, when he was in the naval service, he was in the intelligence section, where he had been assigned to study Russian. While I was still in London, at one stage I asked for his transfer, and he worked for me for a couple of months in London before he was returned to his navy assignment, because the duties that I had anticipated using him for had not developed.

So it turned out that while he was still working with the National Resources Planning Board a couple of years back, he had had associations with one of the Soviet spies and had, as the word went, transferred some information. What the nature of the information was, was for the moment unimportant. However, this became a cause célèbre. My relationship with him became very close, because I had asked him to come to work in the Commerce Department. Well, I had felt fairly easy in the whole matter because after all, he had been an employee in an intelligence part of the navy, and presumably the navy intelligence people were somewhat acquainted with his history.

Well, the net result of this became a second tragedy, because facing these loyalty charges was only the beginning. He was cleared on his loyalty investigations, if my memory is correct, twice. And then from the congressional side, the district attorney in New York insisted on bringing a charge of spying against him. I in the later years had come to Berkeley; I went back to New York, testified in his trial. He was found guilty; he was sent to the penitentiary in Pennsylvania; he was

murdered in the penitentiary. The details of this I don't know; I do know the facts.

This was the period when the McCarthy issue had become more and more serious, and that lasted, of course, during the rest of the final two years of President Truman's presidency. Then we were faced with President Eisenhower, General Marshall being accused of disloyalty, and the issues that turned around much more seriously in the McCarthy era. So that this part of the story is another story entirely; it is not mine.

Loyalty Investigation and Two Principles (late 1940s)

Nathan: I've been reading about you in the press, the Daily Californian.

Blaisdell: Oh, the Daily Cal story. I saw the second day's; I didn't see the first. The story seems pretty thin all along.

Nathan: Right. I had thought that when we got to your life on the campus, if you wanted to make a comment on the McCarthy era, that might be the time; or we could talk about it now.

Blaisdell: As far as I'm concerned, if I were to go into the whole question of the investigation of my loyalty, it would call for interviews before at least three senate committees; it would call for the records of the loyalty boards in the Department of Commerce; it would call for my own reading of my own FBI record.

Nathan: You have an FBI record?

Blaisdell: I don't have it, but I had access to it. There was a full day's testimony in court, my relationship with Bill Remington, who was one of the people that I hired. I mean, it goes on and on and on with various associations with various people. I mentioned--which the interviewer didn't pick up in this Daily Cal interview--Alger Hiss. Well, Alger Hiss lived almost next door to me. He and his wife knew me and my wife. We saw them often. Our youngsters went to the same camp. There's a bushel of stuff, and I don't know how we should handle it.

It bothers me a lot, in the sense that if I'm putting this on record I'm raising a lot of questions. There are a dozen other people outside, apart from me, who know about this kind of business. If anyone wanted to from this record, he could pick up those names.

They want to interview Alger Hiss. They want to interview his son, who writes articles for the New Yorker, or other people whom I knew in Washington. The editorial in the Washington Post was a very defensive article as far as I was concerned, particularly with regard to one individual who admitted that he had deceived me in his own record. There is all this stuff, and I can't help but have the feeling that I would be much wiser not to do anything more than to indicate that there is this in existence, and if anyone wants to take the pains to go into the Congressional Record it is there.

Over and over again when I was testifying before congressional committees, they would begin to question me about this and about that, which was not part of what I was presumably testifying on. My name was known, and there were senators--fewer congressmen--senators who loved to grab a name like this and see what they could dig out. Say I'm testifying on the budget for the Department of Commerce--

Nathan: This was in the early 50s?

Blaisdell: Yes. Well it was before the 50s because I came here [to Berkeley] in '51, and it would be in that period when I was in the Commerce Department. I was in the Commerce Department for four years, so there is all that material. As of our thinking now, the detail of it probably would be seen as red herrings across what in my judgment is a good deal more important than attempts to follow that particular trail.

Nathan: I understand your point; it's well taken. I wondered whether there were any principles that you sought to adhere to, or whether there were any principles involved that you care to discuss. Not the specific details, but the principles and the conflicts of ideas that you observed.

Blaisdell: There were some basic ideas, the first one of which was, "Tell the truth." If the truth seems to mislead, let it stand. The second was, "Never testify with regard to any individual without feeling that you were doing justice to that individual." The question of integrity was uppermost with regard to the individuals and with regard to my relationship with them. On those I would have no questions, or if I had questions I would simply have to say, "I'm sorry, I can't answer because I really don't know." So with this kind of material I would even refuse, had I ever been asked (which I wasn't) about my wife's relationships with various of our friends. I know that some of the things she would have said, that she had reported to me, would have sounded pretty difficult if I had ever been called on to quote them, which I would never have been willing to do.

I think in this current age, when the discussions are going on this year of constitutional principles, and particularly the principle of privacy that is supposed to inhere in the Constitution, I wouldn't hesitate to stand on my constitutional rights, whatever they may or may not be. I never had any troubles with the Fifth Amendment. [chuckles]

Nathan: Sure; that's no problem.

Marshall Plan, NATO, and Assignment to Paris (1951)

Blaisdell: I do need to add to that story at the end of the appointment in the Commerce Department, because this was the summer of 1951. As I mentioned earlier, Marshall Plan programs in Europe were rapidly coming to be immediately associated with NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization]. I had worked through the full year in Washington in the Commerce Department on budget matters dealing with the Marshall Plan, dealing with the appropriations to the Commerce Department, dealing with appropriations that were closely associated with the military. I had close working relationships with that whole set of interrelated activities.

As a result, in May or June of the summer of '51, I received a question from Mr. Foster in Paris, who was Mr. Harriman's deputy. Mr. Foster asked that I be assigned to the group being sent from Washington to review the relationship between the appropriations for NATO and the Marshall Plan activities. I went directly to Washington on that assignment and spent a few weeks--I've forgotten just how long; not too long.

Mrs. Blaisdell and I then went to Paris where the meetings were going to be held. For forty-eight hours there was this series of meetings. Then, again to my surprise, I was asked if I could possibly stay on in Paris for the rest of the summer, because the people in the office of the Marshall Plan activity there were either to be in Washington or on leave. Could I possibly assume that responsibility until a new staff was appointed?

There was one question: I had no desire to spend the rest of the summer in a hotel in Paris, and we had a little argument in the office about this. They said, "You don't have to spend the summer in the hotel. The ambassadorial residence is going to be empty. The ambassador, who was Mr. Harriman's successor, hasn't yet been appointed, and we don't know who's going to live there. I'm sure they can make room for you there at the embassy." That was not the embassy to France, it was the

embassy building which had been acquired as a result of an exchange on Lend-Lease materials. This building had been the residence of the Argentinian businessman--very comfortable, too big, with an elevator to go up to the second floor. Mrs. Blaisdell and I took over the gentleman's suite, and that was where we lived for the summer. It was very comfortable, and the cook was available and we raided the department stores in Paris for living equipment.

However, the important part of that from my standpoint was again, the establishment of the relationship with the people who were working on both NATO and the Marshall Plan. Assignments called for several trips out of Paris to Italy, to Switzerland, and the associations that I made on those trips later became very useful, particularly when the work at Berkeley developed.

So I think probably that should be the story for today.

Nathan: That's wonderful.

VI PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UC BERKELEY

Thinking About Berkeley, and a Group of Friends

Blaisdell: Another friendship reappeared, that of Professor Odegard, who was president of Reed College up in Portland.

Nathan: This was Peter?

Blaisdell: This is Peter Odegard. On one occasion I had come out to the West Coast and made a talk for him at Reed. The whole thing had revived the memories of Columbia, where he and I had taught together just as Charlie Gulick and I had taught together at Columbia. At that time when I went to Portland, he said, "If at any time you should be interested, let me know."

Well, it wasn't too long after that before Peter came to Berkeley to be chairman of the Department of Political Science. He had been here long enough to sort of get his feet under him and know what he was doing, although Peter knew pretty well what he was doing from the beginning. He asked me if I was still saying "No." At that time I said, "Let's talk about it," which we did. I said, "If you see an opportunity that looks as though I might get in, let's talk seriously," and that was in essence what happened.

Before I get too far along, this reminds me of one thing that I must do with regard to the Berkeley operation. I must have lunch with Mrs. Stoker.

Nathan: Oh yes, Cleo Stoker. [Administrative assistant at the Bureau of International Relations and later at the Institute of International Studies]

Blaisdell: Yes. I'm sure she will help me remember a number of things that I otherwise would just have brushed off. I must do that promptly now. It just occurred to me last night.

Nathan: That's a very good idea. She will be helpful, I'm sure, and would love to do it.

Blaisdell: Both Mrs. Stoker and Sheila Saxby, who worked with me as secretary--those two I must talk to, or get them to talk to me and tell me what I did.

Have we recorded anything at all about John Condliffe?

Nathan: No, and I would be interested to hear about Professor Condliffe. Was he involved in the Bureau of International Relations?

Blaisdell: Yes. With the questions that were in my mind about the possibility of joining the work at Berkeley, there were in addition to President Sproul and Peter Odegard, a number of other people who became involved indirectly but significantly. Among them were Paul Taylor and his wife, Dorothea Lange; John Condliffe, professor of economics--Taylor, of course, was also in economics--and Lawrence Sears.

Particularly, Sears, Condliffe, and Taylor took an interest in me at the time when I came out to speak at International House. An arrangement was made that we spend a weekend together in Monterey, at Asilomar. This was a notable weekend. Sears I had known years before when Mrs. Blaisdell and I were living in New York. He was studying at Columbia at the Teachers College. Taylor and Dorothea Lange I had gotten to know when I was working with the Social Security Board. They were consultants in connection with the development of a potential program of social security for agricultural workers. There was Condliffe, whom I had met earlier, in his relations with the Labor Department in Washington, and in his position from the University of Michigan (he had come to Berkeley to the Economics Department). These three people over time became close associates all the time they were living here in Berkeley.

Sears was essentially a close personal friend. He was a professor of philosophy at Mills College. I had known him in the China days, when Mrs. Blaisdell and I were in China together, and he was associated there with the Peking YMCA, the same organization with which I was associated.

Condliffe, I learned later, had followed my work in Washington and had found himself in considerable disagreement with a number of things I was interested in working at. Our differences of judgment were largely on matters of national policy dealing with, particularly, the social welfare

legislation, but also in the dealings over anti-trust policy. As it turned out, here in Berkeley, Condliffe was the chairman of the advisory committee for the Bureau of International Relations.

He prized that position very highly. To him it was an exceedingly important part of his participation in the University. So it didn't take me long to learn that if I was going to have an important part in the work of the bureau, I'd better be willing and anxious to use what Condliffe could contribute, along with other people. The early years of participation within the University's machinery certainly taught me in a great many different situations.

So the combination of Taylor and Condliffe made a close working relationship of friends and professional associates. This relationship, this friendship, was to continue for many years. How long, I just don't remember. I do remember of the three, the first one to leave the group--who died--was Sears.

As a footnote it might be worth remembering that in New York, one of the numerous times when I had been accustomed to going into the country for weekend hikes, Sears and another friend and I had gone up to the Palisades and the Catskills for a weekend. We had hiked all Saturday afternoon, gotten to a lean-to where we were spending the night. Rain had continued most of the time. We had been lucky enough to shelter a fire under a tarpaulin and heat some soup or something for supper.

Anyhow, we had rolled up in our sleeping bags when we heard noise on the trail. It was early; that is, it was 7:00 or 8:00, somewhere along in there. There appeared on the trail a dozen boy scouts and their leader, also expecting to house overnight in the lean-to. [chuckles] They had to take their time and fix their supper, and the rain refused to stop. So we all spent a very cozy night together in the lean-to. It simply indicates the kind of friendship that Sears and I had had over the years.

Director, Bureau of International Relations

Blaisdell: I was invited out to Berkeley; I was invited to make the speech at International House; and when the opportunity came along, it was a little bit different from what Peter had indicated in the beginning. In the beginning it was teaching political science. He knew that I was an economist rather than a student of political science. It was the directorship of the Bureau of International Relations.

If anything, I was almost turned off by this as contrasted with teaching so that the one understanding we had was that I would have a firm half-time teaching appointment. My conviction was that I would have a lot of experience to draw on, and that it could be useful that way, even more than directing research in the Bureau of International Relations. As it turned out International Relations was definitely becoming a very considerable interest (with my Department of Commerce experience), and there were a number of things that came along at the time. So Peter's invitation was supplemented by one other thing.

During the Harriman period in the Department of Commerce, the program for the Marshall Plan that was being worked on and the legislation that had to go before the Congress in order to secure the appropriations for the Marshall Plan, had led to the establishment of what came to be called the Harriman Committee for the Marshall Plan. The Harriman Committee for the Marshall Plan included businessmen and public figures from all over the country. There were very few people in connection with that program with that committee that I remember, but for some reason Robert Gordon Sproul, who was a member of the committee, piqued my interest. We never talked at any great length, but I found him just a fascinating individual.

Later, when Peter was here, he told me that he had talked to the President of the University, and the President of the University had indicated my appointment would be agreeable to him. So here was the President of the University, here was the old friend, Peter, another old friend, Charlie Gulick, the friends whom I had met at the time when I came out to speak at the International House--it all seemed to fit. So when Mrs. Blaisdell and I talked about the potential, we said, "Yes, let's give it a try." In the middle of winter, December 31, I submitted my resignation to Mr. Sawyer. He didn't try to persuade me not to. I think that added a little impetus.

So I came to Berkeley. We found a house on campus, one of the few houses left on campus from the years when there used to be faculty residences on campus. The resident in that house was on sabbatical leave. The rest of the year, in 1951, we stayed at that house until he was ready to come back. He came back; the house didn't last much longer, because it was replaced by a part of Cowell Hospital, and we moved out, into Berkeley.

I think I should add here somewhere the extent to which membership on a University bureau or institute committee doesn't necessarily mean much influence. In fact, very often

being a member of a committee meant that you had to do all the work yourself, because you took the responsibility.

Nathan: If you were the chair of the committee?

Blaisdell: You could do it as chair or you could do it as non-chair, as an individual, depending on just the willingness to take the responsibility. Perhaps talk with the chairman, perhaps not. It all depended, once it got going and the wheels began to turn. Either you stayed with it or you left it.

Nathan: Could you give me an example?

Blaisdell: In one case I was a member of a Committee on Far Eastern Affairs. Woodbridge Bingham was chairman of the committee.

Nathan: Was this a faculty committee?

Blaisdell: Yes. It was all part of the organization, such as it was, of, as I remember it, the old Bureau of International Relations. Within that subcommittee we had some work going on on Korea. Bingham was not particularly interested in Korea at the moment, and so, just willy-nilly, I took responsibility to try to see that the work was continued, and until it was established on its own, I was the chairman. Anyhow, I kept the research wheels turning. It was not unlike working with the medical people on the Indonesia project, which I will go into later. There was the same kind of mutual relationship within an area that enabled me to do the things which I was able to do, simply because of knowledge of the facts, and willingness to take the responsibility and to get Cleo Stoker or one of the other ladies that worked with me to really do the work.

Nathan: [laughter] That's very nicely said.

Blaisdell: Well, Mrs. Stoker's digging up this material is a perfect example. She knew more about it than I did.

Nathan: It's a great combination.

Blaisdell: It worked. It did work.

Notes on the Institute of International Studies'

The Institute of International Studies was established in December 1944, with Covey Oliver as the first chairman. The IIS absorbed the Bureau of International Relations and the Institute of East Asiatic Studies. The latter was technically (budgetarily) disestablished almost immediately, while the bureau's budget disappeared (transferred to IIS) a little later.

Until 1963, the officers of the Institute of International Studies were titled chairman, vice chairman, and executive secretary; they constituted an executive committee. In 1963, the titles were changed to director and associate director, who in turn appointed additional faculty members to form an executive committee.

From 1955 to 1963, Thomas Blaisdell served as executive secretary of the institute; he retired both from that post and from the institute in 1963. Paul Taylor was IIS chairman from 1956 to 1962, when he retired from the institute and from the Department of Economics. Professor Blaisdell continued to be called upon to continue work at the IIS into the early 70s.

Blaisdell: The studies by different centers or other parts of the work of the University, as they fed into and through the bureau, were always very informal. The attempt to establish more formal relationships in the centers was always a very real problem. Somehow professors never enjoyed working with each other. They wanted complete personal financial independence rather than joint activities with some other part of the University. Particularly this is true with the rigid departmental structure that falls normally within most universities, as it does here in Berkeley. In fact, the Berkeley Academic Senate has a much tighter working relationship with many of the faculty than it does in some other universities in the country.

Nevertheless, it is still true that when I first came to the bureau, one of my most difficult experiences--although I had had considerable experience in government--was bringing together people who had similar interests in different agencies

'This summary was prepared by Cleo Stoker at Professor Blaisdell's request.

but nevertheless wanted to be working on their own. I think it's not unfair to say that in most of the centers of most of the groups that we put together, the organization had to be very informal, unless there were considerable funds available at the time, and there were very few funds available from direct University sources. Usually funds had to be raised from either the Ford Foundation or the Carnegie Foundation or from other outside support that made possible some of the work of the bureau.

Organizations with International Focus

Blaisdell: Condliffe in his position as chairman of the advisory committee for the bureau was a continuing great help, because he, along with a whole group of San Francisco residents, had been responsible for the organization of what became known as the World Affairs Council of Northern California. I became part of that same group, and still retain my association with that organization. I have found it a continual source of inspiration and of help in many ways in the development, not only of the work of our bureau, but also in the further development of the international work related to both the University of California and to other activities of the federal government.

Another agency in that same category was the Committee on Foreign Relations of the national Council on Foreign Relations, of which it was a subsidiary. It was a group primarily of business people in San Francisco, with a few academics who were part of the group. They met about once a month with a speaker for discussion of international affairs.

The Council on Foreign Relations has, of course, been a long-time consultant with the State Department in its development of foreign policy. The Council on Foreign Relations is often known as an informal State Department. The membership in New York, which was headed for many years by David Rockefeller, created another contact between the federal government, our association here in Berkeley, and International House.

International Visitors Program, and the Peace Corps

Blaisdell: Maybe we should talk about the visitors program here in Berkeley.

Nathan: Yes, the International Visitors Program. That was established during the years of the Bureau of International Relations?

Blaisdell: That was done during the work of the bureau. Early in our program, it was clear that the large number of visitors who were coming to the campus from abroad needed help in understanding the work of the University. This involved academics, it involved foreign visitors from many different countries. Year after year the program developed. It was a small-scale program in one sense, that there was one person who was primarily concerned with that work. When a new visitor arrived one of the things we did was to find out what it was in which he was particularly interested. We saw to it that he had an opportunity to visit in the particular part of the work of the University that was of interest to him. A foreign visitor in one of the sciences, as much as in the social sciences, was always steered in the direction of the departments where he could find something of particular interest. Whether the work was agriculture or whatever, the important thing was that the individual learned something about what the University was doing in that regard.

The person who took care of this work was Miss Dora Siu. Miss Siu came from Hawaii originally, and she is now retired in Hawaii. The work still goes on, although it is no longer part of the work of the institute. It is now part of the University program which is organized for domestic visitors as well as foreign visitors. But over the years, a dozen certainly, this was the way it was established and worked on.

It's not surprising that coming out of the work of the Visitors Program was one of the interests which attracted us to the work of the Peace Corps. The Peace Corps, which was composed during the Kennedy administration and became part of the work of the U.S. government, was never very popular with the Foreign Service of the United States.

Nathan: Why was that?

Blaisdell: Basically I think because of the jealousy between departments, plus the conviction on the part of the Foreign Service establishment in the Department of State, that the so-called Peace Corps people were regarded as insufficiently qualified to carry on the work of the high-level Foreign Service relationships of the United States.

Because of our interest in the development of that work we found that there were many undergraduates as well as graduate students in various parts of the University who were interested in the work of the Peace Corps. The domestic side of the Peace

Corps was known as VISTA; we had little direct relationship with the VISTA side of the work. The number of people from the Berkeley campus who were anxious to go into the Peace Corps was such that we practically established a self-contained entity for Peace Corps people who were recruiting from Washington. Over and over again we not only gave the people from Washington an opportunity to discuss with the students what they wanted, but we also organized during the summertime language courses and educational work for students who were going to do Peace Corps work. They were going to immediately be needing the language particularly of the country where they were assigned.

This kind of activity lasted during the early years of the Peace Corps, and Berkeley became one of the universities where Peace Corps personnel were recruited in considerable numbers. It was a beginning of the work of the Peace Corps which I've always felt could be one of the most important parts of the foreign work of the United States government.

In later discussions with people working in the Department of State who have had field experience, it is remarkable the extent to which the work of the Peace Corps and the types of work done by Peace Corps employees are regarded as having had a very significant part in the relationships between the United States and other countries.

Unfortunately there is still between the Peace Corps and the State Department feelings of, shall I say, jealousy, both because some of the Peace Corps work is so well done and some of it is because it is not directly related to the work of the State Department. These differences in point of view between "diplomacy" and joint personal work with other countries, nevertheless, has led over the years to the State Department recruiting former Peace Corps students as staff for the Department of State.

Nathan: How has that worked out?

Blaisdell: It has worked out very well. The basic language work in Peace Corps is different from the language work which is done in the Department of State, although the Department of State has some of the best language people that are working now in government. But the basic training of the Peace Corps has always been a solid foundation for work that can be done and is now done in the State Department. The years when the Department of State retained only a small number of highly qualified people has gradually changed. There are a large number of people in the State Department now, more than formerly were employed.

International House

Nathan: Did you have any special interest in International House?

Blaisdell: You know, in my early years of International House my relationship was purely one of a personal friendship with Allen Blaisdell, who was the director of International House. I had no official relationship. It wasn't until I had been at the University for several years that I became a member of the board of directors of International House. President Sproul-- I automatically said President Sproul--he was president of the University at that time. He stayed on as chairman of the board of International House, even though Clark Kerr was chancellor. There was a considerable difference of judgment as to whether this was a wise form of administrative organization. But I became a member of the board during that period, and stayed a member for many years, I've forgotten how long. In fact I still retain a relationship with International House, on their program committee, even though I am not a member of the board. But that's all right.

So there was a long connection with International House, and Allen Blaisdell as director, and then Allen died and Sheridan Warrick became the director in 1959.

International House, with President Sproul as the chairman of its board of directors, had been established with a gift from John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The house was built on University property that was deeded to International House, then rented by International House for a dollar a year as a residence for foreign and American students. It had been used during World War II as a residence for training navy personnel. After the war it was returned to the University and, in essence, rebuilt physically, and its board reestablished. It still continues its work. Its director was for twenty-odd years Mr. Allen Blaisdell, no relative of mine, except very distantly. As I said, he and I also became close friends, and I later became a member of the board of International House.

It might be worthwhile to note that one of the particular interests I had at International House was trying to convince the board that the maintenance of an adequate budget was an essential part of the operation. I think it's not unfair to indicate that the house for many years operated on the principle of "If we run out of money, well, we'll raise some more." With the support of a number of business representatives from San Francisco and with the interest of David Rockefeller, this seemed to be an adequate financial base. Board and residence at the house was mostly paid by student residents.

I was convinced that the University, in its sponsorship of International House, had a basic obligation not to rest the administration and expense of International House on a purely voluntary money-raising basis. If we were going to have money-raising funds, they should be for special uses like foreign student scholarships or special events of one kind and another. The difference between the University relationship and one that was based primarily on funds raised independently of the University, seemed to me to create an unnecessary and undesirable picture of what International House was, its relationship to the University, and its standing with foreign students. Basically the student residents, American as well as foreign, had a responsibility to pay for their own living. Many of the foreign students were on scholarship or grants from their own countries. Anyhow, it took a long time before the International House board was prepared to accept this understanding of what the status of the house was.

Nathan: Did the University administration express an opinion about this?

Blaisdell: Yes and no. After all, the President of the University was the chairman of the board. The chairman of the finance committee of the board was a very well-known vice-president of the Bank of America. Both had a fundamental interest in international affairs, and neither was prepared to go beyond, shall we say, Mr. Rockefeller for the fundamental support which the International House should feel as a community responsibility rather than simply a residence for foreign students. The fact that half of the residents were American students added to this sense and this comprehension of the nature of International House.

Over the years, International House has developed a complicated and far-reaching program that dips into the life of the University in many ways. It has never gotten recognition to the extent, my own judgment was, we should aim to achieve. However, it has developed so far from what it was in the earlier days, that I watched with admiration as it has developed. The director who took Mr. Blaisdell's place, Sheridan Warrick, has only recently retired (1987). He has left an institution which is much more firmly established in the community and particularly, the University community, of which the students, of course, were all members.

I House and the World Affairs Council of Northern California

Blaisdell: The overlap between supporters of the World Affairs Council of Northern California and the supporters, board of directors of the International House, was notable. At times there were members of the Board of Regents of the University who were members of the board of directors of International House. There were members of the staff of the University, faculty, who were also members of the board of directors of the World Affairs Council. Again, the interrelationship between the two organizations was smooth and friendly.

One of the activities of the World Affairs Council was an annual conference at Asilomar near Monterey. That tradition has continued over the years, and one year I was honored to chair the annual meeting. The president of the University has acted as chairman a number of times. This applies to a number of presidents of the University, and the chancellors at Berkeley, as well as the president of Stanford.

Nathan: You were just saying that the president of Stanford University was also involved?

Blaisdell: Yes. Of course, many of the other educational institutions not only around the bay, but literally throughout Northern California, have been participants in the activities of the council. My association with it has always been close, friendly, and it has been a great inspiration and help to me in all of the activities for which I have had responsibility in the University.

Back to my three friends, Sears, Condliffe, and Taylor, who continued to be of great help. That weekend that we had spent together gave me a better feeling for the University than I had had simply with the relationships with Professor Odegard and President Sproul.

Nathan: Was this arrangement established for that purpose, to inform you and bring you into a greater interest in the University?

Blaisdell: Well, as I remember it, there was very little in the way of, shall we say, briefing or introduction to the University. Not nearly as much as I needed. Unfortunately I had to learn it rather than have anybody help me as to what it was that I was supposed to do. After all, I had been out of academic work for eighteen years. My associations with a lot of academic friends had given me very little feeling for it. The one thing that I was convinced of was that I wanted to continue teaching. Teaching was a very important part of the concept of what I

would be associated with in the University administrative structure.

Understanding the University's Administrative Structure, and the Academic Senate

Blaisdell: The separation between the administrative structure in the University of California and the Academic Senate of the University sets a very rigid relationship. The difference between the two is something on which every new member on the staff and the professoriat should be given at least one good briefing: the place of the senate in the University as contrasted with the work of the University administration. This is something which is difficult to learn, particularly for people coming from other institutions before they come to the University here at Berkeley. Concerning the years over which the development of the faculty senate took place, I had very little understanding; I'm not sure how much Professor Odegard had.

Nevertheless, friendliness on the part of other faculty can make a great deal of difference, and I certainly had many friends as the years went on. I began to learn more about the way the University functioned as well as this crucial relationship between administrative and senate activities.

The double matching and overmatching of committees between the Academic Senate and the administration can be more than confusing, it can be entangling. That continues, and I anticipate will continue, as long as there is an overlap between administration and senate. The very character of the senate in its theoretical dominance of instruction as contrasted with administration becomes more and more serious over time. It calls for great sensitivity within the administration as well as the senate over this division, and also over the relationship of the alumni to the University.

This conflict between administration and senate is something that is hardly understood at all by students. When they become graduate students, and so on, this is something which, if they're going to retain their association with the University, becomes a very vital part of their lives. So as an educator, this to me over the years has become more and more important.

Cal-in-the-Capital (Washington, D.C.) and Elsewhere

Blaisdell: Among those student activities with which I became associated over the years--that tied in with the Committee on Foreign Relations, the World Affairs Council, the institutes of the University, the centers of study and all--was one particular student organization with which I established a longlasting relationship. It was the student organization called Cal-in-the-Capital.

Two students had a basic conviction that the University ought to have a closer relationship to the federal government. These two gentlemen, Arthur Shartsis and Michael McGinnis (now Dr. McGinnis) envisaged an organization of students who would intern in Washington during the summertime.

Nathan: Did they find you or did you find them?

Blaisdell: Difficult question. We found each other. I think that McGinnis and Shartsis had had one summer themselves in Washington. I would give them top billing. I became associated probably the next year. I was somewhat helpful to them in finding people with whom they could establish relationships and find internship potential in Washington, so that I became one of the people who could help. As for the selection of people who were going to join the activities as interns, most of them were undergraduates. Occasionally there would be a law school student. Occasionally there would be a graduate student, but predominantly they were undergraduates, and this was part of the concept at the beginning: that they should be undergraduates. The organization at the present time has approximately 70 or 75 students per year who go every summer.

But the best part of it is that this group organizes year by year for the coming year. The group that was there one summer selects the organizers for the next year. This year there are four coordinators who assume full responsibility for selection of students who will go, selection of jobs after they get there, and raising the money for those who can't quite make it on their own. There is an administrative task which is undertaken by a student group, and the full responsibility is taken by students year by year.

They now have a long list of potential jobs: assistants to congressmen, senators; at least in one case, the White House. There is also a long list of students who have had this experience, who have gone into government service at one time or in different places. They have also found their place as lobbyists, and in international organizations as well as

national organizations. This was not from primarily an internationally oriented group. It was primarily a nationally oriented group that wanted to find out, "What's the government all about? What does it do, who does it?" Over the years this group has organized lectures for their members and training before the interns head for Washington and the summer. Many of them drive their own cars to Washington, which is always a great help in saving expenses. They find their place to live; they make their associations; they meet week after week, sometimes all of them, sometimes part of them. It has been a student organization of student activity, and I found it not only, I hope, useful for them, but also for me.

Nathan: Do the student organizers match the individual student to the job?

Blaisdell: Matching interns to jobs is the continuing process between the individual selected to go and what he wants to do--he or she--and the organizers. This year (1987) the four coordinators are four women. Over the years the women have taken their full share in their part of the administration of the activity. The matching is a very difficult thing. The telephone bill is terrific.

Nathan: The "employer" also has to be satisfied?

Blaisdell: The two sides do. Of course, usually in a senator's office or in a congressman's office or in the office of some other federal official, it would be one of the assistants who would be the contact, who understood the use of interns and so on. That was something which had to be built over the years, and students have been unusually good at their ability to handle that kind of organization.

It could be worth noting also that what was started as Cal-in-the-Capital has had its influence within the student body in the establishment of other organizations of students, with much the same idea and ideology and approach to government employment. There are in existence now Cal-in-Sacramento and Cal-in-Berkeley and Cal-in-Cal. In other words, there are University students who become interns in the University in the administration of the University.

The concept--how did it spread? Different people became convinced that the idea of students working and becoming acquainted, not just with classes in the University but also participating in the activities of its government had merit, especially in the climate of today, with students demanding participation in faculty activities, much to the annoyance of many faculty. The Academic Senate, kicking and screaming, has been dragged into including students within their committee

structure, even to the extent of helping select faculty in some places within the University. This is not widespread at the present time, but it does exist. Faculty members of committees largely continue to support this development within the life of the University.

It should be noted that the administration, which I separate from the senate, has often been thoroughly cooperative in this kind of participation by students and in the relationships with other student organizations, so that the parts of the University at least do mesh in more ways than one. The relationship is no longer solely lectures, seminars, with faculty teaching students, but includes students participating in their own education, which is a very important part of what goes on within the University, in my judgment.

Just having had a small role in this part of the development within the University over the years has left a residue of very great satisfaction. The friendships with students growing out of not only Cal-in-the-Capital but other student organizations has been quite a residue in the friendships that I still have with graduates and undergraduates. It's become a very important part of my life.

The work of Cal-in-the-Capital needs to be stressed. It was quite typical of the way in which the institute and its personnel as well as many others were available to associate themselves with the students who had responsibility for the operation of Cal-in-the-Capital. The original organization planned that it would be a student-operated organization. It was not to be a part of any of the departments or institutes in the university in Berkeley.

Nathan: Was there a faculty advisor to this group?

Blaisdell: No. This is again one of those interesting relationships where there was no faculty advisor, but much faculty advice.

Nathan: I see. How did that work out?

Blaisdell: It worked beautifully because those members of the faculty who participated in the training of the students within the activity recognized that it was a student-operated activity and they were guests. As guests, faculty members were allowed certain privileges, but they were the privileges of a guest.

It's too much to say that this Washington-University link was always a perfect relationship, but it was the imperfect relationship that imperfect people have to have. There were instances where there were difficulties, but these were

always handled by the student group. They were never handled as faculty undertakings, but managed by the student body.

Nathan: Were there other faculty members besides you who were guests and informal advice-givers?

Blaisdell: Oh yes. There were persons within the faculty from the different schools: mechanics and engineering, law. Most, of course, came from Letters and Science, but nevertheless there were also participants in the activities who have over the years come to feel themselves quite closely associated with different people within the "alumni" of Cal-in-the-Capital.

I think that's about the story.

Nathan: That's a wonderful story. I wondered whether you would care to say anything about a party that the Cal-in-the-Capital people gave for you a few weeks ago. Was this in Sacramento?

Blaisdell: No. In the Napa Valley at a private home. It was a nice party, no question about that. It was nice to have the feeling of being a part of it.

Nathan: Were there alumni there as well?

Blaisdell: Yes. Oh, there were any number of alumni there.

There is one other thing maybe I should add, and that is that as the years went by, the four students who organized each year came to want to add training work for people who were going to be working in Washington. So they arranged for a series of lectures, starting always with, "What's it like to be in Washington? What do we do, how do we organize?"

Each time each of the student groups set up its own form of organization for participation. They took part in each other's programs. If you were working for a senator, you would invite the senator to join you for lunch and bring in a group of the students. Or if it were a civil servant, the same thing could happen. Each time, each summer, there was a different group of people who wanted to take part in some form of activity as the work developed.

It might be worth noting that one of the Cal-in-the-Capital students who was a member of the public relations staff at the White House eventually became a foreign service officer, as a participant in government. It's worth noting.

Nathan: Yes, it is.

Could a student be a member of the group to go to Washington more than once? Could a student take part more than one year?

Blaisdell: There were students who did take part more than one year. But usually it was a single year.

Nathan: A very exciting program, really.

Blaisdell: Oh, it's a tremendous program.

Skill of University Staff Members

Blaisdell: I'm sure I don't want to leave this part of the story without a special word about the help I had from so-called secretarial assistants. I had long learned in government that the relationship between so-called secretaries and staff can be a very important part of the way in which government functions. It was not a new thing to me to discover that secretaries in the University were no different from secretaries in the government; they were interested in the work that was being done. That was the key to the whole relationship, if it was going to be successful. In my years in government, including those spent in London, spent in different governmental departments, I say without hesitation that without the help of primarily the women who worked with me I never would have been able to accomplish any of the things which I did accomplish and of which I still remain very proud.

In Berkeley, the first, who continued for a number of years, Mrs. Cleo Stoker, was one who demonstrated, not for me only but for so many other people within this University, what contributions devoted people can make to an institution. Her understanding of organization will continue to remain with me as one of the things that I learned most from in my experience here. Mrs. Stoker not only was helpful to me in the work we did together, but she probably more than anyone else understood the relationships between committee members as well as that of the bureau to the University.

Role and Location of Special Libraries and Institutes

Blaisdell: Looking again at the Bureau of International Relations, it became entirely different, largely because of my lack of understanding of what was here before. A professor of

international relations--Frank Russell--was director of the bureau before me. (The League of Nations had been an early interest of his.) In fact, I didn't even realize that he had been director when I came. That's how ignorant I was.

Nathan: Well, you were not briefed, as you say.

Blaisdell: His conception of the work of the bureau rose out of the later era itself. It was the time when the United Nations was created. He conceived the idea that the bureau would begin to establish a library of international documentation of the United Nations. Well, I had no such ideas. Of course, I was acquainted with the establishment of the United Nations. My wife had been a participant in the organization, in the organization of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and later with the establishment of the UN secretariat in San Francisco. So I was not unfamiliar with the existence of the organization, nor was I ignorant of a number of the people who were part and parcel of it, including Dag Hammarskjöld whom I had known in Europe and with whom I became acquainted before he was named Secretary General of the United Nations. Other people, particularly Ralph Bunche, Associate Director General, also became associates in other ways. But the conception of a library matched the parallel conception in what became the Institute of Governmental Studies.

In fact, libraries formed the background for the Institute of Governmental Studies, and the Bureau of International Relations. Materials for the Department of Economics and the School of Business Administration later, I believe, were included in the Graduate Social Sciences Library. I recall that the Library Annex; except for that part set aside for the Bancroft Library, was to house a library for at least some of those agencies.

Nathan: Of course, as you know, the Institute of Governmental Studies was originally the Bureau of Public Administration.

Blaisdell: Exactly. The use of space in what is now the main Doe Library building and its annex was also to pass through a number of different organizational structures and conceptions as to what it should be and shouldn't be. There was also the establishment of an additional group, the Institute of Industrial Relations. Professor Clark Kerr had a special relationship with the IIR and it became a fairly independent entity. The IIS and the IGS libraries were to be brought close together. The plan was that later they were all to be put around a little court--Eshleman Court. The Graduate Social Sciences Library, now called Hans Kelsen Library--with the economics collection, was also to go to the court area, in the old Stephens Union building.

These plans created a problem in working relationships at the time when Professor Kerr became chancellor here on the Berkeley campus. He had a conception that institutes should be on the campus margin, the border, rather than in the central part of campus. This meant that the libraries also should be on the edge of campus, not in the center. The concept, as I understand it, grew out of the fact that the scientific entities, such as the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, not only were up on top of the hill, but they were so separate from the teaching elements of the University that institutes should be in the same intellectual relationship. They would be on the border while the teaching would be central.

The years went by and chancellors changed. With the arrival of Chancellor Bowker the conception of the libraries as central to the institutes was accepted by the Chancellor's Office and certain libraries remained at the center as the place where they would be most used. This was in contrast to the science developments, which presumably were creating new equipment useful in the work of the hard sciences with their hard equipment requirements. These contrasted with the library equipment which was so essential to the Institute of Governmental Studies, Institute of International Studies, and the work of the Schools of Business Administration and the Department of Economics, and the graduate work in relation to, particularly, the Kelsen Library.

This did not prevent the creation of new institutes or new centers for particular types of study, or the creation of a number of different smaller libraries. They have never been completely centralized, which is probably wise. The need of graduate students to have their books where they can get at them easily, rather than being forced to a central library where the major collections are held, is a concept with which I have always been sympathetic.

Nathan: Could we follow this earlier point? You explained that documenting the United Nations was not your primary view of what the bureau should do. Did you have a vision of what you would like to see the bureau handle?

Blaisdell: I was sympathetic to Russell's concept of a UN library. I was convinced, however, that the task of collecting United Nations documents was something far beyond what I thought a bureau or an institute should be trying to build. Actually, it would have been theoretically possible, but it meant that the University of California would have to conceive itself as an arm of the United Nations with its massive collection of documentation. At the time, I was very much aware of the beginnings of the organization of the United Nations. I

anticipated the development of library facilities at the United Nations, and particularly the fact that this was not a collection of English language documents.

Nathan: Of course.

Blaisdell: It was to be a collection, not only of the record in English, but it was going to be in a number of other key languages which had to be matched and could only be matched on a very large scale. Then the question was, what kind of a library were we going to have?

Here I found myself drawn to a slightly different approach. It was the same approach I had to the potential development of the institute or the bureau itself. I had begun to be sensitive to the fact that, at a university, disciplines tend to center around the characters of the professors who are going to be working in those fields. The essential make-up of any organization, particularly in a university, was going to focus around particular individuals who had special interests. The interests of the professors became the key to the development of library and materials and students. Key professors created the necessity of key libraries. [Telephone interruption]

Nathan: The key professors attract the students and make demands for libraries?

Blaisdell: Libraries, as well as students. Students' demands were going to be the byproduct of what professors were going to focus on in the development of their studies. I haven't the faintest idea where I began to think this way, but I was very conscious of a number of universities, particularly Harvard and Columbia, where I had seen institutes and centers organized. I knew they had to be organized around individuals, individual professors, if they were going to be productive. Where and who were the individuals, and what would their research interests focus on? As the years have gone by, I've been more and more convinced that at that time the decisions taken were probably correct, or at least as correct as could be expected. Not that they're the only decisions which might have been made that would have been correct, but as it worked out, they were the basis on which we were going to develop the structure creatively, both for faculty and for students.

Nathan: Would you care to name any of the key professors you identified? Was Condliffe one? You've already mentioned him.

Blaisdell: Well, Condliffe was one. He was sufficiently independent in his thinking that he wanted his own library, and he was successful in establishing the so-called "Sloan Room." I don't

know what's become of it now. I'm sure it's here somewhere, maybe with its own library. It had its own seminar room, its own organization of students. It had the beginning of a small staff, and then, as always, as professors moved the interested moved, too.

This is as it should be, at least in my vision. The concepts change, leadership of chancellors changes, leadership of presidents changes. The University of California is no different from many of the other institutions. Some of them have matched the University of California; California has matched some of them, which means, basically, we have become part of the university life of the United States. And that, of course, speaks about, just in the Bay Area, how many different university-like organizations there are. Each one of them has its own ways of centering its interests and studies, participation in international affairs as well as domestic. So in those years while I was active in the attempt to fit into the administration as well as the Academic Senate, it wasn't an easy course to follow or be sure of what course we were following.

As I said, when Clark Kerr became chancellor, with his creative approach to the University in so many different directions, he thought the institutes should move out to the border of the campus. Then as he became president he began to have ideas of the way the different campuses should develop, and for a time at least he had ideas that the University as a whole was going to develop centrally located institutes of international affairs.

The series of interests represented here have been less and less noted as international and more and more culturally centered. The Institute of East Asian Studies, with the concept of the geographic proximity of China, Japan, Korea, and other East Asian countries, is still nationally centered. Some Chinese have that idea of a national China. The national concept itself is open to question, as is the question of international studies as an independent entity and independent discipline.

Nathan: You were saying that the whole question of international studies as a separate discipline, you find still open for discussion?

Blaisdell: We still find an Institute of International Studies in existence, highly sensitive to a number of different directions in which participants can go, and different elements can be emphasized. The present director, Professor Carl Rosberg, has a highly developed interest in and professional expertise in African affairs. It doesn't change the fact that he also has

his interests in wider international affairs and has been responsible for and has encouraged a number of activities that we can properly call international as contrasted with particularly national culture in their focus.

Definition by Nation, Culture, Land Ownership

Blaisdell: The central concept of national governments is so essential to international arrangements; in fact, the development of the United Nations puts the seal of acceptability on the political structure of the world.

Nathan: In your own mind would you question whether that is the best approach, whether national units constitute the most rational organization?

Blaisdell: I have a feeling that the national concept probably has been overdone. However, when one begins to raise questions and ask what substitute is there for bringing together organizations--what can they be centered around? Should it be a language? We find an India with fourteen major languages. We find a United States; we unified states. How do we become a nation, one nation indivisible? We who consist of British, French, Irish, Latin American of a dozen different varieties, Spanish and many others--one of the most diverse national cultural structures, and yet we call ourselves a nation. What is it? What is this thing? We haven't sorted it out internationally. In fact, I find in the literature today the thinking of people in different nations, "What is it we're talking about?" Within the last couple of days I have read an announcement of a former ambassador, Bajpai of India, speaking on campus on the new diplomatic international relationships. In other words, the diplomats themselves are wondering, "What is it we're representing? In representing our countries, our nations, how do we put these things together in ways that will work?"

We see on a still wider scale two superpowers trying to put together a way to deal with nuclear energy, and its influence on what we're doing. There is even talk about the President of the United States as to his belief that nuclear affairs have to be dealt with between the Soviet Union and the United States, a cross-cultural concept if there ever was one. The minute we move in that direction then our question becomes, "Is this a United Nations function or is it some other kind of a cultural function for which we're not yet prepared? And if so, how can we become prepared?" Because we're going to have to deal with it.

Natural science is not limited in its boundaries by national ties, the ties of individual cultures. Isn't science a particular culture? Aren't we practically forced by modern science to have boundaries beyond those of existing national structures which are based essentially, not even on languages, but on the ownership of land?

It's land ownership above everything. The attempt to draw a land boundary in the middle of an ocean is simply an evidence of the lack of ability to apply national borders to particular nations. Who owns the land? What difference does it make? We think of the borders between two major corporations that are international in their structure; conceptually the legal borders between those two corporations are more important than the relationships between the governments that chartered the original corporation.

So we find ourselves, literally, in the establishment of a particular center or institute. What are the conceptual outlines it is supposed to encompass? We have to be satisfied with variety, and we find our variety very largely in either the so-called centers or the so-called institutes or bureaus. The Department of State has its own bureau that deals with the United Nations; another one that deals with the Soviet Union; another one that deals with Western Europe. Each of the concepts has validity within boundaries. So in a world where the boundaries can even be determined by corporate structure, how much is money worth, a dollar, a pound? What sets the boundary between the pound and the dollar, the mark, or the ruble? And there is the struggle between those conceptual interplays or where we are at the moment; they're changing so rapidly that we can't even keep up with them.

Condliffe never succeeded me as director of the bureau. Because when it became an institute, the change involved the appointment of a new chairman of the institute's advisory committee. Condliffe was bypassed. Clark Kerr appointed Covey Oliver chairman of the institute, since the bureau was to become part of the new institute. Robert Scalapino was vice-chairman and I was named executive secretary.* Condliffe couldn't believe his ears when the chancellor informed him that he was no longer chairman of the committee. It wasn't long thereafter that he felt it was time for him to retire, which he did. While keeping his residence in Berkeley, professionally

*Covey Oliver served only one year; he left the University and later became Ambassador to Mexico. Clark Kerr then appointed Paul Taylor chairman, a position he held until he retired from the University. (Cleo Stoker)

he became associated with the Stanford Research Institute in a very significant and important position there.

Taylor followed Oliver as the chairman of IIS. The new configuration was quite clear for a while. Taylor was chairman, I became executive secretary; a new idea. Taylor's feeling was that we should continue to operate very much as we had in the past.* There were a whole series of things which were in process with which we had great difficulty in dealing.

I think maybe this would be a reasonably good place to break, because I need to record, I think, some of the work which the bureau undertook, as contrasted with what was to happen under the institute. The institute developed a number of newer ways of activity for the University at this particular time.

Professor Condliffe and the Message of Keynes

Nathan: We're now speaking about Professor Condliffe?

Blaisdell: Yes. As I said, Professor Condliffe was chairman of the advisory committee for the Bureau of International Relations. During the TNEC activities when he was still at the University of Minnesota, he was called on for testimony before the TNEC and became so to speak, the voice of John Maynard Keynes, an interpreter of John Maynard Keynes. The significance of Keynes during the Roosevelt administration came far more from Keynes's students and associates than it did from Keynes himself.

Keynes had his interviews with President Roosevelt and was terribly disappointed in the results which he felt he had achieved. Keynes's reputation among those associates of his within the administration was very great, including President Roosevelt's assistant, Lauchlin Currie.

Nathan: Lauchlin Currie was a Keynesian, was he?

Blaisdell: Very definitely. In fact I remember very clearly one day coming back from lunch I stopped in Currie's office and as we were talking he said to me, "You'll be interested in this memo I'm writing for the President." I said, "What is it?" He said, "It's an attempt to explain to the President what I

*The titles of director and associate director were not used until 1962, with Lipset and Apter. From 1955 to 1962, the titles were chairman, vice chairman, and executive secretary. (Cleo Stoker)

believe to be the significance of the Keynesian analysis to the American government." We went on and had further conversation about this, but it was simply his indication of his relationship in connection with the work that he did with President Roosevelt.

Bringing Governmental Experience to Teaching

Nathan: Your comment made me think of something I'd like to suggest, if you would care to talk about it, and then turn again to the bureau and the institute.

When you came to the University, among other things to teach political science, did your experiences both in and out of government, inform the way you taught and what you chose to teach?

Blaisdell: Looking back I have to say that I was interested, not only in the organization of the bureau--I was interested again in teaching. Teaching had been ten years of my life before I went into government. It had been an extremely stimulating experience, and I had learned a lot about a lot of things. But the most important thing that I had learned was not what I'd been reading about or what I'd been writing about while I was still teaching; it was what I had done in government. As I said, one of my agreements with Professor Odegard was that I would have a chance to teach American government.

He was very conscientious in this regard, and I was allowed in those early years to give half my time to teaching American government and what I thought I knew at that time from some of the Washington experiences. I asked that it be the beginning course in American government.

Nathan: So you were teaching undergraduates?

Blaisdell: I asked for undergraduates rather than graduates. In Washington I never thought of the work I was doing as graduate instruction or graduate projects. They were not thought of as educational activities; they were thought of as living, working. "Work" was the important word in my life. I wasn't teaching anybody anything. I was trying to do things which had some significance in government and that were of importance within the American lifestyle.

The New Deal was actually a period of change. It was a period when so many different things were happening, and so many different people were trying different things. One can

almost say that President Roosevelt's great contribution was not in things that he was interested in, but things that people who were working within the government were interested in and to which he gave his support.

Just to emphasize that particular side of Franklin Roosevelt in my thinking, Roosevelt was a very conservative mind, both in economics and in government. There were great changes going on in agriculture, great changes going on in industry, great changes in finance, marketing--wherever you went, changes were taking place. It is not surprising that there were so many failures during the New Deal of the various things which were tried that didn't work. At the same time, out of those things which were tried, much actually was accepted as part of the way of life with which we were concerned--by "we," meaning the whole community.

Immigration, and Its Consequences

Blaisdell: The labor struggles of the time, the whole development of the labor movement at that time, in many ways came in from Europe full-blown with the great influx of workers from Europe. It is difficult for so many of us to remember that even today, the several hundred thousand who are permitted to come into the United States legally, to say nothing of those who come in illegally, are Americans because they want to be American rather than because they want something else. Yes, they may be looking for work. Sure, they want work, but they want to be American. This attractive characteristic of the American way of life is something those of us who grow up in it forget; we forget the way other people are looking at it. In the present day when one reads of the number of Europeans who are emigrating from England, France, Germany--not so many Swedes and other Scandinavians who used to come; they're pretty happy where they are. But still, the United States is an attractive phenomenon in the world.

I remember a very amusing incident. While I was here at the University, I took advantage of the sabbatical leave to try to tie new development in with what I was doing here in the University. One of those trips that had been planned, this time was on the borders of Europe.

Nathan: Which borders?

Blaisdell: Entry through Portugal and Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Scandinavia--consciously deciding, no London, no Paris, no Berlin. Actually I did go to Berlin, but it was because I

wanted to cross the border between the two Germanys in Berlin. So that was part of the outside borders, and in Austria I was having a little look at agriculture. Strange place to look for agriculture, but I was interested. The Agriculture Department was good enough to make available to me one of their experiment station people who had his jeep. We spent the day looking at different kinds of agriculture. The extremes--wealthy, highly developed general agriculture, plus the high mountain dairy workers, people raising cattle, making their cheese, but primarily taking care of the cattle in the summertime in the alpine meadows. Although my German was still usable, I discovered very quickly that my driver spoke English very well. I was kind of surprised because--well, just because.

I began to do a little asking, and said quite frankly, "How come you speak English so well?" His answer: "I learned it in the United States." I said, "What brought you to the United States." "I was taken." "How come?" "I was a prisoner of war. I went to work as a prisoner on a Midwestern farm. The two years that I was there were two of the happiest I've ever had." The United States is still attracting people. Whether it's a job or whether it's lifestyle, there are still attractive places and people.

But also, the other half of the story is that most of us came for essentially the same reasons, beginning in the earlier Colonial days. When we think of the people who came as immigrants--they were not all governing people. They were mostly working people. The opportunity to get land was such an incredibly attractive force to people, European particularly, who never had had land of their own. No matter where they came from in Europe, they saw the attraction of land when there was still land to be had. Today we think of urban land, and we forget agriculture and we forget the extent to which suburbs of cities once were agricultural land. In California this is amazingly true; we don't remember the changing characteristics of the way in which land is held, and for what purposes it is held.

International Experience, the Bureau, and the Culture of the University

Nathan: I am beginning to see your vision of the United States, and I am interested in how you took that and linked it to international questions.

Blaisdell: It's difficult to say, because in coming to the bureau I had little comprehension of Professor Odegard's idea of what the

bureau was or should be. I had to grow into it, and the growing into it meant a whole series of things.

As you know, I had come from the Department of Commerce. International trade was the immediate job in the Department of Commerce. The experience of two phases of international activity--particularly reorganization of an economy due to war, and the experience within the planning committee of the War Production Board--was essentially international. What we were doing was financing an international war. And the international war had brought the United States not only within the orbit of the United Kingdom, although that was important--it had brought us within the orbit of Poland, because when the British went into war against Hitler, it was over Poland. Poland was one of the centers of American interest--remember Chicago?

Nathan: Of course.

Blaisdell: And a sidelight: my uncle was a political organizer of minorities in Chicago.

When I was pulled out of the War Production Board and the activities there that were so international in character, I went to London. Obviously I was on the border of other phases of this same interrelationship between the United States and Western Europe.

Here's our noble ally, the Soviet Union. There were questions of the relationship with the Soviet Union. After all, I'd been in the Soviet Union. I'd crossed Siberia, I'd gotten a tiny taste of Soviet life. I didn't feel completely lost, although a number of my associates had entirely different feelings about the Soviet Union than I had. Communism was something entirely different in my mind from what it was with many of my associates. I was to learn a lot more. However, it was part of the experience which had fed into my ideas on international trade. When I went to Washington, the United States had not yet officially recognized the existence of the Soviet Union.

Nathan: It's hard to remember that.

Blaisdell: We hadn't, until Franklin Roosevelt recognized the existence of the Soviet Union. For anybody who went to the Soviet Union, the American passport was of no use. I can't forget my little experience of going to the Soviet Foreign Office to ask, "How do I get out of Moscow?" and being told, "We're very sorry, but the United States doesn't recognize the Soviet Union. We can't help." You remember that experience ended up by the chairman

of the Soviet-American Friendship Society making the arrangements to get me out of Moscow.

Nathan: Oh, yes. Would you say that your view of the Soviet Union was more open or more friendly than that of your colleagues?

Blaisdell: Oh, I think so, but it was in the same way that I thought about Chinese or I thought about Italians or Germans. After all, I had had some experience with non-American cultures in a variety of ways and a variety of experiences.

So, coming to Berkeley and a bureau and finding that the essential experiences seemed to be developing a library of United Nations documents, I was extremely puzzled. I had so much to learn, against knowing too much. I realized more than I had ever realized before how little I knew. I was wondering, "What's the function here? What is it we are trying to do?" I was in the position of learning so much about American university life.

Nathan: That's another culture, isn't it?

Blaisdell: It's considerably different from my Washington point of view and what we were doing here, and what I was doing in the four years before I came to Berkeley. I was living through, working through, four years of rapid change--not as rapid as the New Deal, but those that came out of World War II and its inception, its activities, its reality, and what came out of it.

Nathan: You were saying a little about the culture of the University?

Blaisdell: At that time, questions were being talked about, not only in the University but in government; there were questions about the rapid change in the relationship with the Soviet Union. So what were the activities that in my mind were the kind of thing the University could be interested in, should be interested in?

International Conference on Agriculture and Cooperative Credit (1952)

Blaisdell: Anyhow, at that time the bureau had organized through the Department of Agriculture a program for six weeks called Agriculture and Cooperative Credit in the Agricultural Industry, to which government officials in Latin America and in the Middle East as well as in Africa, were invited. My recollection tells me that there were about fifty professional individuals who came to the University here in Berkeley for

this series of discussions. Eventually we published a document containing the talks which were given by the representatives from the different governments. Because of differences in government organization, many of these talks were not as useful as we had originally hoped. However, the persons who were taking part learned to know each other pretty well. The result was a good group of people.

There was one very unfortunate set of problems. We found that about half the members of the group had to be hospitalized for some part of the activities, since members had acquired attacks of mumps. So here we had really two groups going on, one in the hospital and one outside the hospital.

This program was carried on in three languages. We had French, English, and Spanish, so simultaneous translation was provided on all scores. We had our problems with simultaneous translation, but it worked with little difficulty.

Originally the bureau had hoped that the Department of Agriculture would be the principal participant in this undertaking. But as it turned out, the professor who had been invited to take the leading role at the last minute decided he couldn't participate. The net result was, with several of the other people within the University, we put together a joint program which worked pretty well.

We had also very first-class assistance from Mrs. Bauer, Elizabeth Bauer. In a number of cases where she had the opportunity to lead the discussions, they were unusually good. She put together the final reports in French, Spanish, and English, that I think came very close to breaking some kind of government record with the speed in which it was accomplished.

Officially our reports should have been published through the Government Printing Office. But with a series of exceptions we succeeded in making independent publication possible, so that the period of time within which the report was published was a few months. If it had been left to the Government Printing Office, it would have been a couple of years before the documents were available. And the net result was that at the time they were important, and were useful.

This program was financed through the AID [Agency for International Development] activities of the federal government.' The topic was so important, we felt, in different parts of the world, that at least it was worth taking a try at

*AID was established in 1961 under the U.S. Department of State in cooperation with the World Bank.

putting these three languages together. And actually, most of the participants were at least acquainted with English sufficiently so that with the simultaneous translation, the program worked fairly well.

Nathan: Were the Indonesians part of this group also?

Blaisdell: Yes. There were Indonesians in that group. It was not part of the general Indonesian program. The Indonesian program was a specific program of the Department of Economics. The individual Indonesian participants, after returning to Indonesia where they nearly all took part in government activities, became known as the Berkeley Mafia. The program of government students in Berkeley involved some fifty or sixty Indonesian graduate students who were developing their work in economics.

Publishing the conference report privately, with government financing, was one of the things I had learned about government activity before privatization became one of the things government was promoting. I will say also that I came to privatization; I also had learned quite a lot in the days of the War Production Board, where government contracts in the military field were absolutely essential. Many private companies that had never done a day's work for the government were drawn into the government contracting practice.

So for the conference papers, this was not simply something brand new that we were doing. We had an idea that maybe there were ways to do what we had to do. I had done this on other occasions in government, discovering where private enterprise was an essential part of government activity. I think I had sort of instinctively achieved an idea of the working relationships between government and private enterprise which didn't treat the two as though they were completely separate entities. Of course, way back in the days of the doctoral thesis, I had played with these ideas, without much insight, and had only acquired a little sensitivity over a lot of years in thinking about and working with those things that we wanted to do, whether private enterprise or public.

No place was this kind of thinking more significant than in social security, where life insurance was big business. If there was going to be social security for older Americans, it had to be big business. The question was, what kind of big business?

The utilization of actuaries in the building of the Social Security system was a very essential part of the whole system. Interestingly enough, the largest activity of this type was the federal government's Census Bureau. The Census Bureau had the

largest data banks. In fact, it was the Bureau of the Census that had invented the machines for tabulation before computers had been invented.

Nathan: Was this the Hollerith system?

Blaisdell: Yes.

Nathan: I didn't know it was invented by the Census Bureau.

Blaisdell: It was the Census Bureau whose sensitivity to these problems was so important, and it was the Census Bureau from whom most life insurance companies had learned their techniques.

Nathan: I see. So you see the government as the generator of ideas sometimes?

Blaisdell: And the generators of the data. So with this little experience of use of private enterprise, and the place of private and public activity, I had no difficulty at all in my own mind of using government money to complete an activity for government in the publication of a University document.

Nathan: Yes, done privately. It's wonderful, really.

Blaisdell: The combination of these relationships, I think, is one of the great things in the American culture.

Nathan: The people who came to this conference from other countries, did they have experiences that were similar? That is, did they deal with public, private entities, back and forth the way you've described?

Blaisdell: No. I think in most cases, those who were represented with their own government experience were far more government-oriented than they were private-oriented. One of the things we had done in the conference was to call on the big citrus coops for some of their people, and on the Agriculture Department here in the University. In fact, one of the old agricultural economics graduates from the University here who was invited to speak happened to be John Kenneth Galbraith. I had known Galbraith previously, when he was in government. He was a great success as usual.

Government-University Relationship. Point 4. and Peace Corps Liaison

Blaisdell: Anyhow, that conference in some ways told me the working relationship between government and a university was a very

fine potential outlet for university activity in relation to some of the things that government was talking about, particularly AID-type activities: the attempt to make American experience available abroad. Well, this kind of thinking was A-B-Cs, because the University wasn't familiar at that time with the many activities which were going to grow out of the Marshall Plan and out of the Marshall Plan's so-called Point 4 program. These ideas had grown from President Truman's speech to the Congress in which the Marshall Plan was made the beginning of the program, and Point 4 was to provide American technology to the world. It was the beginning of the development of what today is, of course, still a major effort.

Unfortunately, in my view, the program financially pushed too far into the military area as contrasted with the civilian activities of that period. The major financing today goes primarily to Israel and Egypt. There is still financially a minor part of the program that is literally in the area of transfer of technology and experience as part of the government program. Of course, this kind of activity at a later date also blossomed into the Kennedy Peace Corps proposals.

I think it is only fair to note at this point, since I mentioned the Peace Corps, that one of our little side activities in the bureau, after it was assimilated into IIS, was encouraging the development of the Peace Corps from Berkeley, and Berkeley's supply of Peace Corps volunteers. As I said, for several years the University here had the reputation for supplying the largest number of Peace Corps volunteers. Again, something of which I have always been proud: that we were the first Peace Corps liaison office on the West Coast.

Nathan: Yes, that is impressive.

Blaisdell: But that was a minor part of our activity. It seems that in the international field, the University here was not dependent on a Bureau of International Relations to develop its interests in international affairs.

Among those who were helpful and operators on their own was Professor Robert Kerner, who was a developer of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies. Professor Kerner and I were friends. We also disagreed with each other on various approaches to the study of Soviet relationships. But his was the responsibility, along with a number of our other associates. The work there was to gain a reputation throughout the country. Its reputation was seen as conservative, but there were plenty of conservative attitudes towards the Soviet Union.

The question in my mind has always been, "What is a conservative in his attitudes towards the Soviet Union, and towards communism?" Even in the Soviet Union or later in the development of the United States government's relation with China, there has been a great deal of problem concerning the difference between communism, socialism, and China and the Soviet Union. It probably goes back to those days when the United States first recognized the Soviet Union and, after a major intragovernment experience, recognized the existence of communist China. In fact, one can say with great accuracy that the recognition of a communist China was by the back door, when President Nixon sent his right hand, foreign affairs advisor Kissinger, to open the back door for recognition with Mao Tse-tung.

Nathan: Why do you say the "back door?"

Blaisdell: Because it was done secretly. The mission was completed and later put on public display, with President Nixon recognizing the People's Republic. Somehow Kissinger was allowed to make his trip without it being advertised.

Nathan: When you speak of a conservative attitude towards the Soviet Union, as in the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, is that in contrast to the attitude at the Bureau of International Relations?

Blaisdell: As a bureau we never took any particular position. We simply recognized that as far as our work was concerned, we were not actively involved in that Soviet-related program.

We did have our judgments with regard to the development in China, which was another story. The Soviet Union was one thing; China was another thing, and the bureau became very active in the China field. Not only did the Department of Political Science have Bob Scalapino and Chalmers Johnson, both of whom were Far Eastern specialists (Scalapino had also worked in Indonesia), but there were so many others in other departments who were interested and active in the Far Eastern field, that considerable work was being done in that area. I don't remember exactly how we dealt with the organizational problems.

Professor Woodbridge Bingham, whose field was medieval Chinese history, and I worked together on a great deal that was being done. I also had some Far Eastern interests, and with Professor Bingham's help particularly, we decided to start a Korean Center. In other words, we were a bureau, they were a center; non-competitive entities, but still understanding and encouraging each other. I assumed the chairmanship of the Center for Korean Studies.

I also had a number of other interests which I was concerned with promoting. Among those, as part of the activities of the bureau, we began a publication on current Indian affairs, called Indian Press Digest, based on materials that we got from the Far East, from India. From this activity Miss Joan Bondurant published her outstanding volume as part of this activity originally. It really started with her interest in Gandhi. Her book is one of the outstanding publications on Gandhi and his peace activities.

Nathan: Was the Center for Chinese Studies developed then or later?

Blaisdell: The Center for Chinese Studies developed later.

At that same time, the bureau assumed the responsibility for their monthly publication, The Asian Survey. It was a takeover from the predecessor of the World Affairs Council, the Institute of Pacific Relations. Before I came to Berkeley, the IPR got into serious difficulties as the result of its activities, both in the Soviet Union and in China. I believe there were charges of disloyalty among the staff. There were a number of publications of that organization which needed sponsorship because of the quality of their activity and the quality of their publication. The bureau assumed the responsibility. Professor Scalapino and Leo Rose took the editing activity, and for some years this was continued and still today is published as The Asian Survey.

So the activity of the--is it called the China Center now?

Nathan: I think of it as the Center for Chinese Studies.

Blaisdell: As a parallel we have the Center for Japanese Studies. These are both examples of what to me were important activities. In the beginning they had their, shall we say support, some kind of official recognition and were to develop into really outstanding activities of which the University can well be proud.

Programs in Indonesia

Blaisdell: We also became involved in the parallel activity financed through the Ford Foundation, and this developed into the project dealing with the training of Indonesian scholars. On the Indonesian side there were two facets. The first one was with the Economics Department, and the second one was with the University of California in San Francisco. (As I recall, there



Catharine M. Blaisdell and Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., February 1962. On the wall behind them is a portrait of Dean Ewald Grether of the School of Business Administration.



Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., in Indonesia, 1955. He is drafting the results of negotiations leading to agreements between the University of California and the University of Indonesia, Djakarta.

was also a program in public administration.) Although we had no formal, official relationships with that major public health project in Indonesia, we did have very active support in, shall we say the politics of organizing that activity. The public health program was originally recommended through the United Nations health organization.

Nathan: Is that the World Health Organization?

Blaisdell: Yes. It was called upon to make a report, and called for the development of a public health program in Indonesia for which there was very great need. Unfortunately, the Indonesian government had different ideas as to what the government wanted to do. It recognized the need for public health programs; however, they felt they needed more: a university medical program. Their idea of a medical school was one like the University's medical school in San Francisco.

Just a word about the background of that. In Indonesia at the time of its establishment as an independent government there existed only a two-year medical program, which had been initiated by the Dutch government in Indonesia. That is, it had been part of the program of the Dutch government, of which the Indonesian government was a part. The staff of the then-existing medical school was largely Dutch-trained, but there were also several Indonesian professors. Not surprising that they wanted a medical school.

So working together in our discussions with the medical school in San Francisco and their discussions with the new government of Indonesia in 1948, and with the help of the United States government, their program proceeded to the establishment of a medical school on the pattern of the medical school in San Francisco. For ten years this program continued, and I'm not sure but what it's still continuing. There were ten or a dozen professors who went to Indonesia from the medical school in San Francisco, and there were Indonesian professors who came to San Francisco for training. An emeritus professor from Stanford accepted the equivalent of a deanship in Jakarta where the medical school was developed and still functions.

Without much boasting, I think I can say it's a first-rate medical school. It was so successful that the Indonesian government asked the University in San Francisco to establish a second medical school in Surabaya, and it did so. But in this case very serious problems arose. For the foreign instructors who came to Surabaya there was no serious problem. However, the students in Surabaya, as well as the students at Jakarta, were under very heavy pressure from the communist organization within Indonesia.

Without going into the history of the communist development in Indonesia, I can say I think without too much exaggeration that pressure was so severe on the students that the Surabaya development had to be curtailed. Whether it ended or not, I don't know. I haven't followed it recently. At that time the communist organization attempted to seize the Indonesian government. The present government remained, although it remained only with the seizure of large numbers, thousands of communists who were killed or "sent to Siberia," so to speak, to the other islands.

I remember one day talking here with one of the Indonesian students who had been there and whom I had met on one of my visits to Indonesia. He was president of the student organization in Jakarta at the university there. We were talking about whether it was possible for that attempt to take over the government to have been sidestepped somehow. He said, "Mr. Blaisdell, the thing that you don't seem to realize is that this was a question of their throats or ours," meaning the split within the student organization of those who were pro-communist and those who were anti-communist. The period of our experience with Indonesia was one of fascinating interest from a whole series of directions, not only the communist movement within Indonesia, of which we became so aware and I hope knowledgeable.

Finally, it is my memory, although here I'm subject to correction, that the principal organizing activities in Indonesia were established through the Chinese Communist Party, which then had spread within Indonesia. The troubles were very marked within the government of Indonesia. It's worth noting that the government of Indonesia of today is essentially the same government that was in place at that time, with the high degree of opposition to the communists as well as Chinese minorities in the government of Indonesia and in the country of Indonesia.

It might also be worthwhile to note that while the Dutch government was still in charge in Indonesia during World War II, the relationship between the Dutch government and the Indonesian customs was such that Chinese-Indonesians living in Indonesia very often chose to be affected by the Dutch law--which permitted coverage of non-Dutch as long as they accepted responsibility to the Dutch law--rather than by Indonesian customs which were also law within Indonesia. That separation of Chinese from other Indonesians under Dutch law created many, many difficulties in this period of revolution. To this day the position of racial Chinese in the government and in the country of Indonesia is still very difficult.

Paul Taylor and the Indonesian Economics Program (1955)

Blaisdell: In the mid 50s Clark Kerr felt that it was time for a further reorganization within the Berkeley program in the international field. It was during this period that Professor Paul Taylor and the Department of Economics agreed with the University of Indonesia to bring to the campus at Berkeley a number of Indonesian students for advanced work, particularly in economics.

Nathan: This was the Indonesia economics program?

Blaisdell: Yes. There is an interesting development in connection with that project, because Professor Taylor had gone to Jakarta for the final negotiations with the Indonesian government. The government was interested in this project, which was financed by the Ford Foundation, primarily because of the availability of funds, both for them and for the University of California.

Mrs. Blaisdell and I were traveling at the time (1955) in India. On that trip we received Professor Taylor's cable, asking that I come back to Jakarta for the negotiations on the agreement. Mrs. Blaisdell stayed in New Delhi while I returned to Jakarta for the next ten days or so, while we were finishing the negotiations.

Agreement between the Indonesian officials, both academic and governmental, turned out to be very difficult. In fact, it was so difficult that the phrasing of the arrangements had to be dictated in such a way that various parts of the Indonesian University activity, and particularly the government relationships, were spelled out in considerable detail. Actually I sat down at a typewriter and redrafted the whole document so that it could be properly arranged between the Indonesian government and the university.

As it developed, my memory is that there were seven different governmental departments that had to sign the document in order that it would be in proper shape.

Nathan: Do I understand that the university there was closely allied to the government?

Blaisdell: Difficult question, because the University of Indonesia in Jakarta was a government university, just as the University of California is part of the government of the State of California. So the arrangements had to be closely tied in. It wouldn't surprise me at all if Professor Taylor in his story of the development could be more specific than I am in mine, since during the next two months Mrs. Blaisdell and I were continuing

our trip, which was taking me over considerable ground that I had been on many years before in the India days.

We later went on to Pakistan, where there were former government officials with whom I was acquainted because of my relationships in the American government.

Nathan: I might ask you about some elements of the agreement. Did it involve bringing Indonesian students to the institute?

Blaisdell: Instead of coming to the institute, they became part of the work of the Department of Economics. The set of arrangements, just as it had been in the bureau, always involved difficulties over the kind of opportunities that there would be, either for faculty or for students who were working in the bureau and particularly in the library of the bureau.

From the University's point of view, we had two major elements. One was the participation of the Department of Economics; Professor Taylor was chairman of the Department of Economics and chairman of the Institute of International Studies. The other was that I was the "organizer" of the Indonesian Economics Program, and a faculty member in the Department of Political Science.

I think the money for the program came from Ford. The Economics Program ran for some period of time after I left the institute. Malcolm Davisson became the operator. Taylor left the Department of Economics; he retired.

Observations on Intercampus Relationships

Blaisdell: The other development, in one sense more important even than the Economics Program, was the Medical Program, which was carried out by the U.C. School of Medicine in San Francisco, with help from Berkeley personnel.

Nathan: Yes, we did have a note about that, the institute's role in the contract for developing the medical school in Jakarta with some American doctors?

Blaisdell: That's right. Now here is one of those fascinating instances of the interrelationships between two University campuses, where the substance becomes more important than the administrative relationship. The medical school had primarily AID financing; there was a close working relationship between the institute at Berkeley and the School of Medicine at San Francisco (which had no administrative relationship to

Berkeley) and yet we worked very closely together on the Indonesian project, both the medical and the economic.

Nathan: Now this was after you had retired?

Blaisdell: After I had retired from the institute, but not from the Department of Political Science.

Nathan: And this actually worked?

Blaisdell: This actually worked, and it worked for years. As I said, unfortunately there was a conflict within the Indonesian government over whether the medical school was going to be run by communists or it was going to be run by people who were directly associated with the west and the medical school, rather than Chinese communists. Chinese--because it was the Chinese communists rather than Soviet communists who had made their bases in Indonesia.

In fact, my recollection tells me that there was little if any interrelationship between the Chinese communists and the Soviet Union. The struggles between the communists of Indonesia, the communists of China, and the communists of the Soviet Union--we are talking about cultural differences so great that one wonders to what extent Communism was holding them together.

My own guess was the nationalist forces were much stronger than the communist. But that's looking back over changes that were taking place on major fronts, where the communists of China and the communists of the Soviet Union never really worked together very closely in Indonesia. They tried, but they didn't get along very well. Mao was too powerful, both Mao and Chou En-lai, the two great leaders.

That I think probably puts that part of the activity at least, together in some way.

Nathan: Yes, it does indeed. It's interesting to see your perspective on these enormous developments.

Clark Kerr's Leadership, Student Role, and Universitywide vs. Local Structure

Nathan: Earlier we were talking about leadership in the University administration, and you were saying a few words about Clark Kerr's innovations.

Blaisdell: Yes. I think that Clark, both as chancellor and then continuing as president, had fundamentally sound ideas on education and struggled valiantly to see that some of them were adopted. Among them were the beginnings of recognition that students should have a place within the administration of the University. This was in opposition to ideas within the Academic Senate, although there were other agreements with Clark. His leadership had to be against the tide rather than with the tide.

This was recognized in a second way by the fact that student housing increased during Clark's chancellorship. We built new dormitories. I was thinking of the highrise residence halls and the highrise complexes that were in progress in the 50s and early 60s during Clark's time. A further recognition of student leadership was in the building of the student union. A fourth, the building of the student office building, the development of the dining commons and the lower plaza. In fact, in a sense that whole development facing Sproul Hall might be called a monument to Clark Kerr, because of his intense interest both in raising the money and in fitting the student activities into the work of the University.

On the negative side has to be the struggle which took place in the 60s over the way in which student protest should be handled. When Kerr became President, Glenn Seaborg had become Chancellor, followed by Edward Strong. Although I believe Kerr had supported Strong's appointment, the two men apparently saw the way in which the student protests should be handled entirely differently, and that led to great difficulties with student protests. It was a very difficult period, both for Strong and for Kerr. The politics of it was involving Sacramento. Ronald Reagan had become governor, and the governor's ideas of what should be done in the University of California were so entirely different from those of President Kerr that it is not surprising that Governor Reagan's desire to force a resignation of President Kerr became active.

In President Kerr's leadership there is one other very significant and positive achievement. This was a period of growth in the University at large, and the designation of the Santa Cruz campus under the leadership of Kerr I regard as one of the great additions to the University system. There was this concept taken over from Great Britain of the colleges: no grades, the concept of close personal working relationships between students and tutors, all of which were characteristic of Oxford and Cambridge and some of the earliest British ideas. Dean McHenry, who was an assistant to President Kerr and who later became Chancellor at Santa Cruz had much to do with Kerr's thinking in this area.

Nathan: Yes.

During this period, say '60-'65, the Ford Foundation made sizable grants, \$4 to \$5 million, to the Institute of International Studies. That was during this time of student and faculty turmoil, and the FSM. I wondered whether you could comment on how that kind of development came about. The note said the grant was "for geographic and comparative programs," whatever that may mean.

Blaisdell: My memory on this period is very vague, but the '60-'65 Ford grant was after I left. In the '50s I do remember the struggle that went on with the President's office, and the reception of the Universitywide Ford grant. At one time, with the reorganization of the bureau into an institute, President Kerr had the conception that the institute should be a Universitywide organization. I worked with Dean McHenry in trying to clarify the thinking in that relationship.

Again, as I recall it, although I may be wrong, President Kerr was very anxious that an original grant of \$10 million should be made to the institute, which was to be a statewide institute.

Nathan: Would it be based in Berkeley?

Blaisdell: Theoretically based in Berkeley, although that never became quite clear. Personally I was opposed to this proposal.

Nathan: Why were you opposed?

Blaisdell: Because I believed that the attempt to introduce statewide educational ventures separated them too far from what I regarded as the essential administrative as well as teaching relationship between students and faculty.

With President Kerr I've never been sure just why he was so anxious to expand the work of the institute itself. It called for an entirely different approach than we had followed here in Berkeley, in which we tried to develop the intimate relationship between students--graduate students, particularly--and the faculty, and to keep teaching and research close together.

Anyhow, it was during the discussion over whether the grant was to be \$10 million or not that the Ford Foundation decided that half of it would go to Berkeley. [Professor Blaisdell referred to three major Ford grants: one in the 50s and two in the 60s.] Again, with faint memory, I believe that there were discussions as to whether \$5 million would go to UCLA or not. (I don't believe this happened, although the

record would show.) I just did remember that there was this fundamental interest in the President's Office of going one way, and my particular interest with regard to the Berkeley operation was on a different track. Again, the record for this, I believe, was kept by Dean McHenry in the President's Office. It was a slightly later development when the Santa Cruz campus was established.

Nathan: In the long run I gather your view prevailed?

Blaisdell: I think so. I think I would have to add to that, though, not particularly because of me. I think it was particularly because of the basic attitude of the Berkeley faculty and their conception of institutes, bureaus, and centers. It is worth noting again in this connection that when Kerr was chancellor and then president, he was convinced that as far as Berkeley was concerned, institutes should be on the fringe of the campus, physically." In other words, the pattern was that of the scientific institutes that were up on the hill--and the laboratory in Livermore, the laboratory in New Mexico, the institute in La Jolla, must have been part of the President's thinking.

More on Library Locations

Blaisdell: In any case, the social sciences and their institutes, were, in my judgment, in a different category than the science institutes. Both had their interests in graduate instruction and in fundamental research. However, the social sciences, including history and related humanities, had their interests in libraries and collections of papers, particularly, as an example, The Bancroft Library. The same thing can be said for the Art Museum and for the Anthropology Museum, the same thing can be said for Doe Library, as well as other libraries associated with the institutes and the bureaus.

The libraries associated with the courtyard--

Nathan: That would include Kelsen Library?

Blaisdell: --with the Kelsen Library--are the perfect example of the necessity, in my judgment, for keeping the institutes as

'At Professor Blaisdell's request, Cleo Stoker reminded him that IIS was first confronted with the problem of institute location when the Center for Chinese Studies was funded and had to rent space above the Woolworth store on Shattuck Avenue.

centers close to the libraries rather than putting them somewhere outside.

During this period the Institute of International Studies and several other groups, including the Law School, were moved up onto Gayley Road. The former fraternity houses on Gayley Road became largely centers for institute activity. They still remain to some extent [1987], although during the leadership of Chancellor Bowker, he was much more inclined to see the intimate relationship between social sciences, humanities, history, as something which should be related to the libraries--the close relationship between libraries and the work of the institutes.

As a net result, the School of Librarianship was moved to South Hall; the Kelsen set-up was tied closely together; some libraries that had been in the Library Annex were moved into the Kelsen complex or across the court. There were some residuals: the Institute of Industrial Relations was kept over on Channing Way, and a few others were retained for various reasons as they were then located. But the fundamental idea that libraries and social sciences belong together was pretty clearly accepted, as contrasted with the concept of campus marginal library and institute locations.

(It is extremely difficult for me to remember the extent of all of this thinking, both on the part of the president of the University, Clark Kerr as chancellor, various institutes, bureaus, and so on. I'm sure that my knowledge of it is extremely limited.) It wasn't long after that that I was scheduled to retire, so my thinking as to the sequence of events and the interrelation between the various ideas I'm sure is not only sketchy but lacking in a great deal.

Nathan: Of course, your interpretations are useful.

After you had retired in 1963 you were recalled in 1972 and '73 to serve as associate director of the institute. I wondered whether you had any special interests that you were involved with.

Blaisdell: My recollection of that particular period is even fainter, because the director of the institute, Professor Ernst Haas, had hoped that I would be able to put some real energy into money raising. Of all the things which I have regarded myself as being successful in, raising money is the last one. Accidentally--and a large part of it was accidental--I had been briefly successful in connection with some grants from the Ford Foundation and some grants that tied the Ford Foundation to other activities of the University, particularly on the international side in dealing with Indonesia.

Foreign Affairs and Academics' Criticism

Blaisdell: There were so many things of academic interest in relation to international affairs in those years at the end of the Truman administration and the continuation of the same activities under the Eisenhower administration. I think it is not unfair to say that President Eisenhower was a very faithful continuer of the Truman administration's activities in the foreign field. The places where President Eisenhower's interests were focused were far more in Latin America than they were in Europe. While the period of struggle between Stalin and the United States was very bitter, it was still a period of Marshall Plan continuation, the continuation and development of NATO, the development of attention to the Far East. All of these activities that were going on kept the academic interests in foreign affairs very high.

Nathan: You were saying that the academic interest again was focused on these developments?

Blaisdell: Yes, the State Department was under very heavy criticisms in the academic world, from Harvard to Berkeley.

Nathan: Why were the academics critical?

Blaisdell: They felt that the interrelationships between the Soviet Union, the new China, the whole series of eastern communist states, and the influence of communism in Latin America, were very badly understood. In fact, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles's concept of surrounding communism worldwide was questioned not only by academics but also within the State Department.

Nathan: Did you feel that the academics opposed the Far Eastern policies?

Blaisdell: Definitely. There was no question about it. Even when there was some fundamental intellectual agreement, there was also the feeling that the administration in Washington during President Eisenhower's time had completely misunderstood the China attitudes and the attitudes within the State Department. In fact, the China experts within the State Department were almost completely obliterated. There were none of them left.

Nathan: And the China Lobby prevailed?

Blaisdell: The China Lobby prevailed, definitely. In fact, the China lobby was a good deal more than a China Lobby. It was a violent anti-communist lobby, so much so that President Eisenhower personally had great difficulties with the senators

and congressmen who became known as the creatures of the China Lobby. The struggle which still goes on between Taiwan and the China mainland is the carryover of this struggle. The concept of China having been "lost," which was frowned upon by academia, received very little sympathy until, strangely enough, President Nixon emerged, with Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State and foreign affairs advisor.

The process of sorting out the differences between nationalism, and communism, the interrelationships between these concepts, is still suffering both from lack of information and from lack of interpretation. The struggles within Western Europe, part of them aftermaths of the Marshall Plan, reflect so much of the struggle between academia and the problems of Washington that it is not surprising that there is still great confusion in the thinking about the nature of communism and its place in the world, particularly when within the Soviet Union and within China, it is so deeply influenced by national loyalties.

In addition, since the 1980s the changes with Gorbachev in the USSR and the defeat of the "Gang of Four" in China new hopes have arisen for economic changes.

Pacific Rim, Communism, and Religion

Nathan: You are, I'm sure, aware of the current conversations in the University about the focus on the Pacific Rim?

Blaisdell: Yes.

Nathan: Is this partly an outgrowth of the need that you have just spoken about? How do you see that connection, if there is one?

Blaisdell: Well, the concept of Pacific Rim seems to me to be dominated by Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and on the American side, an attempt to tie it up to the American trading economy. Sure enough, when one mentions these particular "countries"--I don't know what to call them, really, except Japan. Hong Kong certainly isn't a country; Taiwan certainly isn't. Singapore comes pretty close. Vietnam, no; obviously not. The merger of communism, Christianity, and Buddhism is a pretty difficult mixture, and yet it is in Buddhism, both in Thailand as well as Vietnam, where today the struggle goes on. Pacific Rim, sure, that's Pacific Rim; but China is also Pacific Rim.

Nathan: This had been my question, too.

Blaisdell: Except for the countries or the locations that I've mentioned particularly, in our interpretation of the Pacific, somehow or other we also got India included as part of Asia. Is India a part of this Pacific Rim? The concept of Asia is a misconception.

Nathan: Why is that?

Blaisdell: The fundamentals of communism and Confucianism comprise a concept developed here in the institute by Joseph Levenson. In fact, his basic writing on the interrelationship between these two concepts and the attempt to sort them out is still part of the fundamental literature, but the breakup of India since 1948 has hardly percolated into the literature yet. There was the separation of Pakistan and Burma from India to begin with; the attempt of the India which remained to include some thousands of native states--something which the British had never dared try while India was part of the empire; the independence of Burma and its strange military socialism, communism, who knows what it is?

Fundamentally there was Buddhism. The dominance of Buddhism was true through all of Southeast Asia, and its creeping over into China--it's still a dominant part of the thinking in Japan--doesn't make for simple interpretations of what is going on in the so-called Pacific Rim.

Nathan: Are you suggesting that the relationship between these ancient religions and communism would be an important area for study?

Blaisdell: No doubt in my mind about that at all.

Nathan: Do you think it is being addressed now?

Blaisdell: Not sufficiently. I think extremely limited attention is being paid to this. Levenson's concept in China has received a small amount of attention from some Chinese scholars, but my own acquaintance with it is so peripheral that the best I have to offer is questions--big questions, huge questions. These questions require attention from people who know and understand not only the languages but the philosophy that is inherent in the languages.

The extent to which scientific philosophy has only made a scratch on the surface of these still-dominant ancient customs is always surprising. There are a few extremely able Chinese, a number of them who work in the University of California here in Berkeley. A number work in other western institutions, both in Europe and the United States, whose thinking is scientific as contrasted with their other thinking. This has as yet not made a sufficient impact on western scholars. The grants of

the Nobel Prizes which have gone to these scholars is almost forgotten, where pure science has dominated rather than literature. But their contribution to the West and to western science, is great, as great as that of some of the great scientific leaders in Europe and the United States and Canada.

Nathan: Are you suggesting that there is a role for Chinese scholarship to contribute in the social sciences here in the West?

Blaisdell: Oh, I feel very strongly that there is a great necessity in the social sciences, western social science, to understand more closely the thinking which has gone into Asian communism. It is interesting to remember that Chou En-lai, Mao's great compatriot in the development of Chinese communism, did receive his indoctrination in France. His training led him to potential relationships with the West, most of which were turned aside. Even then there were possibilities of interrelations for the West particularly during the war with Japan. His early training was seldom understood by many of those who had to work in that area. This goes very deep into the China experts within the State Department. Their comprehension was so difficult for the China Lobby to understand in any way; they never understood it at all. But the crisscross of these philosophies, languages, is still disrupting the nationalism of these areas.

Japan has retained its national characteristics in a very striking way. But if Japan has taken over one strain of western thinking, particularly in the science field, the other strain of western thinking which has been incorporated by the Chinese has been that of Marxism-Leninism. We forget that even though it has come into modern China, it is fundamentally western. The western thinking that goes along with it is misunderstood very much as Soviet philosophy and thinking in its interpretation of Marx and Lenin.

Nathan: Are you suggesting that both the Chinese and the Russians misinterpret Marx and Lenin?

Blaisdell: Yes. Well, there is so much in the Bolshevik as contrasted with, if you please, Menshevik seizure of power back in 1918. In fact, we even forget that with the Civil War in the United States, which theoretically abolished slavery--

Nathan: You say "theoretically"?

Blaisdell: Theoretically abolished slavery. Even with the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, it was replaced by a form of apartheid. Although nominally it no longer existed, we had in the United States what we can rightly call apartheid. Apartheid in the United States was matched in Czarist Russia by

the abolition of serfdom in 1867, was it? Anyhow, it was about the time that slavery was abolished legally in the United States. Soviet agriculture is still suffering from the carryover and the struggles that grew out of the abolition of serfdom, just as the United States is still suffering from the attempt to change the character of agriculture after the Civil War, the War Between the States. This struggle still lasts, in spite of Supreme Court decisions.

Nathan: Do I gather that you feel that the legislation has not been totally effective?

Blaisdell: I find it extremely difficult to find the legislation that has gone along with it to have been completely effective. The fact is that I think there are very few people who would defend the idea of complete effectiveness. Legislating on civil rights is one thing, but its enforcement and carrying out, not just legally but in the social life of the people of the United States is another.

Nathan: Is there a remedy that you would care to suggest?

Blaisdell: Offhand, I would say there is no remedy. On the other hand, I would say the remedy is coming into being by the slow changes in education.

Relations Among Communist Movements

Blaisdell: The question of the interrelationship between Chinese communism and the Soviet communists is a very tough one. That relationship can be illustrated very easily by the decision on the part of the Chinese communist government, to surrender much of the work which was carried on by the Soviet government in China. Rather than continue to accept Soviet help, the Chinese government decided to repay all of the funds loaned to China by the Soviet Union. At that point in the break between Mao and Chou and the Soviet Union there came what was in substance a break in who was responsible for the communist world system. We have already noted that the Chinese communists had broadened their activities to promote their work in Indonesia. They had also continued their work in Southeast Asia, particularly Vietnam and the Vietnam government.

The interrelationship between the various communist movements in different parts of the world continues to be part of the world scene, difficult to deal with whether one is on the communist side or whether one is anti-communist. One can say frankly that there are very real conflicts within the

communist movement, so that Marx and Engels would never recognize their own work.

Nathan: What is the role of academic inquiry in such a complicated setting?

Blaisdell: Well, in the work of the University, the participation and recognition of the cross of interests will continue, I think, with the rapid changes which are taking place within the Soviet and other communist countries. One wonders what is the Soviet system, or what is the communist system of China, or what is the similarity within these systems, even if they both have the name of communist.

This is a phenomenon which is recognized in Western Europe, just as it is here. In fact, my feeling is that it is recognized more in Western Europe than it is here. Communist government parties are in existence in Great Britain, in France, in Italy. During World War II the communist underground in all of these countries played a very considerable part in the interrelationships between the Soviet Union and western governments in the work in which I participated in London. There were at the end of the war American officials who made a special effort to understand these various communist activities. They were part of our government in London. In some circumstances it was clear that they understood more about what was going on in the communist movement than the British understood. The whole set of movements across Western Europe that involved communist organizations in practically every society in every country in Western Europe meant that western governments in general understood much better than the United States, communist organization, communist participation in government. The relative lack of communist organization in the United States can be noted. The bitterness of the feelings about communism in the American government is noted particularly in Senator Joseph McCarthy's activities in the federal government.

It must also be noted that during President Truman's time the feeling against communist activity was also very strong. The difficulties that were involved during the Truman as well as the Eisenhower administration should be noted.

Nathan: When you were in the Soviet Union--what was it, two or three years ago? Quite recently--

Blaisdell: Yes.

Nathan: --were you able to recognize any movement toward change at that time?

Blaisdell: No. No, the present activities of the chairman of the Communist Party--this activity was just beginning at that time. So there was very little opportunity. It was interesting that in one case in Kiev I made the incidental acquaintance of one of the Soviet officials, who had worked very closely with Professor Glenn Seaborg in the United States and spoke with very great affection for Professor Seaborg. The two scientists had worked very closely, and he had come to know Professor Seaborg when Seaborg was chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

Nathan: Interesting. I wondered whether you had any idea of the direction that you would like to see international studies take?

Blaisdell: In the experience within the institute and the other activities, guessing where we're going as a nation, one can only say really that the changes are going so fast that even trying to keep up, keep on just a level with those changes, is extremely difficult. Yet we should be thinking, "Where are we headed? What are the directions?" trying to maintain some kind of knowledge of Western Europe. There are the attempts of the journals, the international relations journals as well as the general public relations activities, to question just where we're headed. When the President of the United States one year finds that Soviet Union consists of deviltry and the next year finds this is a great friend of the United States, which direction are we going?

To understand the human relationships that are involved, one can say between the President of the United States and the Chairman of the Soviet Communist Party a human relationship has had some influence. Just how much remains a huge question.

More on IIS: Comments on Structure

Nathan: Shall we talk a little more about IIS? [looking at documents] I see this page refers to the Center for Slavic and East European Studies; you were the acting chair.

Blaisdell: Well, this was quite a habit that I seemed to have had during this period at the institute. Whatever I was--secretary, executive secretary, assistant to the chairman--I would be taking the acting chairmanship of a subcommittee.

Nathan: I see. This was in relation to the Institute of International Studies. So you were the acting chair of various enterprises?

Blaisdell: All that meant was that I acted as the chairman for meetings of the committee, and whatever the conclusions were. But the record on all this seems to be very, very hazy. Here is another sample, a draft "submitted by Blaisdell, former Executive Secretary, Institute of International Studies." It is not dated, but it is for a grant in support of a program of advanced training in modern China and other foreign areas, 1957-61.

Nathan: Right. Acting as chairman, did you find that you got to know the faculty members through this activity?

Blaisdell: Yes. This is a list of faculty members affiliated with the institute. For example, here was John Letiche of economics, who is still here; Frederic Lilge, who is in education; Martin Malia, history; Nicholas Riasonovsky, history; Gleb Struve and Francis Whitfield, Slavic languages and literatures (I don't remember Struve and Whitfield.). I remember George Kuznetz of ag econ; Boris Bresler, civil engineering; and Wacław Lednicki also of Slavic languages and literatures. There were also several others.

This was called a center. So much of this was, and still is today, pro forma. You write the report as though this was the way things worked, and they didn't work that way.

Nathan: How did they work?

Blaisdell: Well, here we have a list of academic staff, which is a collection of people from different departments. If somebody wants to work within this kind of a program, it's all listed here and he can go to work on it, and he can do all these various things. But he has to be the person that decided what he's going to do, maybe work that out with somebody.

Nathan: So the initiative comes from the faculty member, is that right?

Blaisdell: Or it comes from the student.

Nathan: From the student? That's interesting.

Blaisdell: It was so informal that when you can publish a list like this, it's for all the variety of programs.

Nathan: Are you suggesting that one could publish the list, but that perhaps not much was going on in these fields?

Blaisdell: There may be little going on, although this is a published statement. I mean, there is nothing going on within the collective organization, except from time to time with the meeting of the committee, and maybe the approval of a program

that will be passed on by the graduate faculty. It is very strange, the feeling I get of all this, is how unreal it was.

Nathan: What was the advantage of having such a structure?

Blaisdell: Here we've got area programs: African, Chinese, Japanese, Latin American. As I remember the Latin American group, they wouldn't do anything. They just set up a committee.

Nathan: This is still part of the Institute of International Studies?

Blaisdell: Yes, this is the institute. The institute was established in 1955. Let's see, '51 is when I came; at that time it was the Bureau of International Relations. The institute was established in '55, which means that Clark Kerr was already in power, because Clark was the principal driver as chancellor, not as president of the University, but as chancellor at Berkeley. He was interested in organizing more thoroughly the way the international work was set up. And here we have listed--

[pauses to look at form]

Nathan: Just for our tape, you're reading what looks like an annual report.

Blaisdell: Yes. And these are obviously two different things. Here is me as chairman of the Slavic Studies; this is from Mrs. Stoker, who dug these out of what she had retained from the file when she was the secretary. Technically, I guess she was my secretary, but practically, she ran the show.

Nathan: That was at the institute. So this is, of course, later.

Was it Clark Kerr's idea that the way to organize research was through institutes?

Blaisdell: Yes.

As I mentioned, Kerr named Paul Taylor as chairman of the Institute of International Studies after Covey Oliver, and I became the executive secretary. This marked a longstanding relationship between Kerr and Taylor. Kerr had been Taylor's student and worked, as I remember it, as an assistant to Taylor when Kerr was doing graduate work.

Nathan: I see. Would this be in relation to farm labor?

Blaisdell: Yes. It was labor research. Just what the detail was, I really don't know, because I was acquainted with it so much later. My acquaintance with it was pretty thin.

Nathan: I might suggest if you're interested, the United Nations Internships Program.

Blaisdell: Another one of our small programs was that of an attempt to establish interns within the functioning of the United Nations. This program developed as a somewhat similar arrangement to the program of Cal-in-the-Capital.

Nathan: Oh, that was a very famous one, yes.

Blaisdell: The idea was that students from the University of California could go to New York and become interns working there in the various departments of the United Nations. We succeeded in raising small amounts of money which made it possible for at least a half dozen graduate students to participate in this program over several years. This was accomplished by establishing individual relationships within the United Nations structure, the civil servant structure, where individuals could participate in the work of the United Nations just as students who were Cal-in-the-Capital were taking part in the American government.

This series of appointments had to be terminated because the personnel department of the United Nations structure felt that there were conflicts involved with any group of students participating this way in the activities of the United Nations. I must confess that the conflicts which other United Nations personnel felt on this score were not very impressive as far as I was concerned personally. However, since the combination was an extremely difficult one to maintain and we couldn't get to see eye-to-eye, the work had to be finished.

Some of these graduate students were among the best that we had in international affairs at the University here. So this program unfortunately was not as successful as the long-standing program of Cal-in-the-Capital.

IIS Programs: Slavic and East European Studies, and the Far East

Nathan: I'll offer this, and you tell me if you're interested. There was a Russian faculty exchange program sometime between 1961 and 1963. Is that something you'd care to talk about?

Blaisdell: I just know that at that period the anti-communist movement was very strong within the department.

Nathan: Of Political Science?

Blaisdell: No, the Russian Department.

Nathan: I see.

Blaisdell: And there was a very large group that nominally established the basis for a Center for Slavic and East European Studies. It never succeeded in getting much money or in a highly developed program, but it was the basis of a Slavic program. In fact, it was sufficiently the basis of a program to achieve slight notoriety in the eyes of the CIA, who seemed not to be particularly sharp in the nature of organization at University activities, interested in particular problems.

Maybe we should say something about the China Program, too, and the forerunner of the Center for Chinese Studies.

Nathan: Excellent.

Blaisdell: There were other ventures in the bureau that continued later in the institute. One of the most distinctive was that of Far Eastern Studies. It's not surprising that it developed at this juncture where the questions of the status of the communist government in China and the non-communist government in Taiwan became very important. It was 1949 when the communist government became the government of mainland China. The interest within the University was very large, both within the Political Science Department and in the various cultural departments that dealt with Far Eastern affairs.

In the earliest period there was also an attempt to establish a South Asia group. Eventually they began to publish an informal journal which had a minor degree of success as a source of information on India. President Kerr was particularly interested in this group. It was small but it was important as time went on.

The Far Eastern work however, dealing with Japan, China, Taiwan, became a highly organized and well-developed program, with some spin-off centers continuing to this day. The leadership the program developed raised independent funds and did independent work in addition to that which originally began with grants from the Ford Foundation and which continued for a number of years with Ford funds. By the same token, a small amount of funds was also available from Ford for the India Program. So we can say in a very real sense that this was a set of programs dealing with Asia, whatever that means.

The struggles over the place of the Soviet Union and the work of the bureau involved a degree of difficulty because of

the conflicts between the federal government and the Soviet government.

IIS Organization and Departmental Power

Blaisdell: IIS was not a tightly organized institute. I feel reasonably certain that Kerr wanted a more tightly organized institute. But if I remember my own reactions as of the period, they were that there was no place for a tightly organized institute in the University of California at that time, dealing with international affairs.

Nathan: Why was that?

Blaisdell: Because of the great power of the whole series of departments within which each had its own concept of international affairs: economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, the whole range. Political power within the University rested within the department. Departmental power is the essence of University strength; it still is. The institutes in the social sciences--I don't speak so much of the natural sciences about which I know nothing--but there was the attempt to organize tightly administratively structured institutes, centers, and bureaus. We think back and remember the original organization within the Library Annex, where economics, political science, and industrial organization, and libraries were all unified in that structure. That structure was destroyed by Kerr, who saw an Institute of International Studies, as contrasted with economics, political science. The institute was to overlap these various activities within agencies as we have listed here.

Nathan: I see. So was he tending toward an interdisciplinary view?

Blaisdell: Yes. And with all of this, each of these area programs was part of some department. And here we have comparative programs also. Here again, "Joint Faculty Seminar on the Organization in the Communist World," which I remember nothing about.

Conrad Brandt I remember.

[looking through papers]

There must be a published document of which this is a part, an annual report. And in setting up an annual report--

Nathan: As you know, there are certain things that you are required to put into such a report. Your interpretation of how this matched or did not match reality is an interesting insight.

Blaisdell: "International Population and Urban Research," "Comparative Elites of Developing Areas." Now as I read this, I get the feeling that these are all topics where work by somebody was being done. Maybe it was completed, maybe it never was. Maybe nobody ever finished anything within it. Here are some more: "Students and Politics in Developing Countries," sponsored by the Survey Research Center. "A Joint Faculty Seminar on Organization in the Communist World," "Committee on Land Tenure Research." Taylor worked on this area, yes, somebody somewhere was working on these things.

Proposals for a School of International Studies

Nathan: Do you feel that there is a place for institutes of this nature?

Blaisdell: Well, in talking here the other evening with Mrs. Stoker and Sheila Saxby and Karin Beros, the present management person over in the institute, I learned that apparently Chancellor Heyman is trying to put together a structure possibly to be called a school and not an institute (1987).

Nathan: Would it be related to international studies?

Blaisdell: It would be a School of International Studies, either at Berkeley or Universitywide. I know so little about this as a proposal. I just know from what they've told me, the secretaries who are close to and understand that sort of attempt to organize. Some administrative staff are so unhappy with "institute" language that "school" seems to be the only thing they can think of in the international field that has very broad scope. Of course the scope today is much broader than it was back here when we were working with it.

It interests me particularly because Clark Kerr when he became president of the University had ideas of Universitywide organization.

Nathan: Do you know why that was?

Blaisdell: Well, I was a member of a committee: Dean McHenry and I; who the third member was, I don't remember. We had all kinds of discussions about this. I thought it was not such a good idea. Dean McHenry, who worked closely with President Kerr, thought

it was a good idea, but we never succeeded in putting anything together. As I remember it President Kerr was not willing to accept it as something he wanted to go ahead with.

Nathan: Could you say more about why you were opposed to the Universitywide view?

Blaisdell: As I have said, my feeling was and is that the University campuses need to retain their own integrity, and the close working relationship between faculty and staffs on the campuses. The faculty is already so large and the student membership is so large that an attempt to form them all into one organization runs into the major difficulties that we have organizationally in the University as it is today.

In order to have a unified budget, the budgets that tie together and go to the state legislature still do not make up the major part of the University funding. They apply only to that part of the University which the state finances. The University is financed, in addition to the state budget, by larger amounts provided by the federal government or by private enterprises of one character or another which, on each individual campus, becomes an independent entity. These have to be put together in order to make up a total budget for the whole University. To try to put these together intellectually from the standpoint of research and study seems to me to be pushing way ahead of the time where we're living, rather than earmarking where we're at.

Nathan: Is there a problem also of size, sheer size?

Blaisdell: Oh yes. All of this, shall I say, goes back to Justice Brandeis and his love for things that are small. This was true all the time that he was Justice of the Supreme Court, and before he ever became associated with the Supreme Court. He believed in competition.

Issues of Control, and Lessons from the Federal Government

Nathan: In the question of organizing programs Universitywide, is there an element on one side of faculty power and on the other side of administration power?

Blaisdell: I think definitely yes. That same set of problems exists between the "administration," quotation marks, and faculty, the Academic Senate--and that administrative organization as contrasted with departmental organizations.

Nathan: I see. So you're separating Academic Senate--

Blaisdell: There is still a third breakdown here.

Nathan: So it would be Academic Senate, departments, and--

Blaisdell: And the Universitywide administration. Not only Universitywide, but campuswide administration, and the various struggles between these in order to keep some kind of stable organization for the University as a whole.

Nathan: I wondered too whether your views of University governance had been informed by your experience in the federal government?

Blaisdell: Definitely; I was watching the federal government in areas of control and seeing lack of control between departments. It is all very well to say that the Department of Agriculture is one independent department, but until one begins to think about what it is that the Department of Agriculture does, it is no longer one department but it becomes a whole series of commissions, departments, and bureaus within that one department.

In addition to departments, we now have, parallel to all departments, the various institutes and organizations--well, shall we say the Federal Reserve Board. To whom is it responsible? It's responsible to the Congress. It is not responsible to the President of the United State. The whole series of independent agencies--if one is listing the individual agencies that are responsible to the Congress, not to the president--it is a challenge to the Constitution if one thinks of the Constitution in terms of three entities. One has to make a division between those elements responsible to Congress and those departments responsible to the president. They are very different things, very different budgetwise, very different organizationally, very different in committee structure within the Congress, very different in a whole series of ways. As I look at it, the attempt to maintain these as unities is probably much more successful than trying to shift them over to the president and make them responsible to him, after the Congress has acted. The same can be said for the laws and structure of the courts.

The struggle between the Congress and the president over who is running the United States government is a very steady, ongoing state of affairs, and very difficult to sort out, because it turns so heavily on individuals and individual competence. The attempt to make secretaries of various departments act as though they were independent of Congress, becomes an extremely difficult operation.

I remember in working with students on some of my research activities and working on American government, I would ask, "If you were a civil servant working in the Treasury, where would you get your direction as to what you were supposed to do?" Well, let's say the basic problem of the Treasury is the collection of taxes. Where do you get your instructions? Does the secretary of the Treasury (speaking for the president) give you your instruction? "Gosh, no. I don't get instructions from the president. I get instructions from the Congress that passes legislation, and I have to follow the legislation, not what the secretary of the Treasury asks me to do, or the president." The president has no power to overrule legislation from the Congress, because he's already approved it. The difference between those agencies responsible to the Congress via the president is one thing, and those responsible directly to a congressional committee becomes something entirely different.

Nathan: Your students must have learned a lot, trying to get that straight.

Blaisdell: Most students can't figure it out. The idea is that here is a separate something, and that it represents 50 percent or more of the whole government. I've just been reading some of the story of World War II, and the struggle of the Air Force within the War Department. Eventually it became a separate entity and then it was discovered it was part of a Department of Defense. Then they discover that part of the defense machinery that controls nuclear energy is administered by the Energy Department. They get their equipment through the Defense Department, and that is part of the budget that gets approved by the Congress. It is not part of the Defense Department, but that's where the Defense Department and the Energy Department work together. Defense gets its nuclear equipment, because you can't separate nuclear energy into different departments. Nuclear energy is gotten one way. It's all nuclear energy.

So the same crisscross of departmental organizations exists within the University as exists within the federal government, because the subject materials overlap.

Nathan: That's penetrating. And so these tensions are built into whatever system we have?

Blaisdell: Exactly. (The Universitywide Laboratory at Livermore is financed by the Department of Energy.) The conception of what these entities are turns on what goes on in the heads of some individuals. I can remember again in federal thinking, President Eisenhower and his tremendous problem of trying to keep his secretary of Defense and his secretary of Treasury on

the same track, because they didn't agree with each other, and he had to somehow or other put them together.

One of the great problems of the president today is just that: try to put together these conflicting enterprises with legitimately conflicting possible results of what they may do or may not do.

In a different context I remember my shock when I learned that when President Lincoln was re-elected that second time, there were no southerners who voted in the election. Southern states had withdrawn from the Union, so that we really had a president elected by the northern states, or those states that were still part of the United States and not part of the federation. It isn't all simple. [chuckles]

Nathan: No, it is not.

Blaisdell: But it's this kind of analysis that kept reminding me to keep it as small as you can.

Nathan: I see. And that would be your preference?

Blaisdell: That would be my preference, recognizing that keeping it small is also going to precipitate the struggles between the various departments and the organization of institutes, the organization of schools. Usually a school--but there is no "usual," because it turns on who is it who wants to organize? Who, individual.

One man can make the difference. The Lawrence Radiation Laboratory in Berkeley had its beginnings in 1929 with Ernest Lawrence. The Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, the second weapons laboratory, came in 1952, after the one at Los Alamos in 1943. Teller was first at Los Alamos, then at Berkeley, and at Livermore. There was a struggle between two great men, Teller and Oppenheimer.

Robert Oppenheimer headed the Los Alamos Laboratory in New Mexico, beginning in 1943, for the federal government. Later, in 1952, with the drive of Professor Edward Teller, the Livermore Laboratory was independently established. Both Los Alamos and Livermore were financed by federal agencies.

Nathan: Yes, I see. What a connection we have there.

Blaisdell: I mean, this organization of the University of California is a tremendous operation. Still other activities are financed by other federal agencies but the question of institutes within the structure is going to turn very largely on individuals.

Nathan: That's an interesting insight.

Blaisdell: The chairman of a department either makes a strong department, or it may be divided up into committees that work either against each other or work together, that find things in common. One of the most interesting parts, I think, of my experience was discovering, trying to discover, the relationship of the director of the institute or the director of the bureau to the Department of Political Science. Sam May's Institute [of Governmental Studies] was one thing and the Blaisdell organization was another thing. I think the two of us recognized each other and each other's area of operation.

The potential of working together never really developed until a very interesting period beginning roughly from 1945 and with the establishment of the Marshall Plan in 1948, and Point 4. Point 4 provided for the establishment of technical aid around the world and that meant that the federal government was going to provide aid to different governments in various places. That meant that nominally down one channel in the University of California, the Department of Political Science was going to organize training with federal money in Italy, South America, in the Far East, in Indonesia.

Nathan: That's where that came from.

Blaisdell: The crisscross between institutes functioning under AID.

Nathan: Yes. This was the phenomenon also of the departments organizing for AID?

Blaisdell: Yes. In recording this, that we're doing now, it interests me particularly how much of what I did in federal government has reflected itself within the University, and the crisscross that I worked with in the federal government, in the dozen or so different areas, I see repeating themselves. Also I see the different parts trying to hold together.

The most striking of all in that area is the experience within the National Resources Planning Board, of the attempt of the president to hold together a budget, a planning activity, and the personnel operation. President Roosevelt was successful only in the establishment of a Budget Bureau. The Congress would not approve a planning board. The Congress would not have an independent personnel operation. Of course, in both fields the president did have planning responsibilities, he did have personnel appointment responsibilities. But officially they remained not recognized if possible.

This breaking down into different segments turned so heavily on individuals. In almost every part of government that is true. I'm sure it's true in the University. The attempt is to pull together and keep together people in different parts of the "administration," quotation marks, and [the Academic Senate], and keep those administrative bodies, at least within each other's realm, and working together on common objectives because they do have a great deal in common.

Service on Committees

- Nathan: I see. With these important experiences, and views from your work at the University, I was amazed at the numbers of committees you served on, both on the University and off the campus. I wondered whether any of these were particularly interesting to you?
- Blaisdell: You've got a record there of some of these.
- Nathan: Surely. [Showing him a list] It starts there and continues on the next pages.
- Blaisdell: [looking over list]
- Nathan: While you are reviewing this I might just read a few onto the tape.
- Blaisdell: Good.
- Nathan: You were on the Chancellor's Committee on Regents' Professorships, and Lectureships; you were on International House committees; you were on four Department of Political Science committees--this was only at one time, '62-'63; two for the Institute of International Studies; the ASUC, UN Internship; Peace Corps; a little bit later, Stiles Hall; United Bay Area Crusade; San Francisco Committee on Foreign Relations; World Affairs Council; American Council on Education; the National Planning Association; the Truman Library, and the Ditchley Foundation. Now I don't know what that last one is.
- Blaisdell: The Ditchley Foundation was a British organization, with which I became acquainted while I was still on appointment in London. Ditchley Hall was presented, created as an independent entity like the Ford Foundation, except that it consisted of a building and an estate which was given by one man, I've forgotten his name. Anyhow, as a result of my position in the government in London, I was invited to help in the organization

of Ditchley Hall. Ditchley Hall had been one of the places where Prime Minister Churchill had stayed very often while he was still prime minister. It's a very beautiful estate, and is today used as a consulting conference ground. I served as a member of the board for something like five years. This kept at least one member of the board an American. The original organization sort of grew out of that post-World War II relationship between the British government and the American government and the various people who were concerned and interested in the international work which Ditchley chose as its field. I'm very much interested from time to time to read of my various colleagues here on the campus who go to meetings at Ditchley Hall. But it's nothing with which I still have any association. I think I served maybe five or six years.

But now let's see--the American Advisory Board of the Ditchley Foundation. That tells us about that one.

I've got quite a little material here that goes in different places. [Later inserted in appropriate places.]

Nathan: This is fine, because then we can fit it in wherever you want it.

APPENDICES--Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.

I	Letter to "Dear Friends of Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr." from Tom and Jane Blaisdell, dated January 2, 1989.	269
II	Papers concerning The American Presidency in Political Cartoons, 1776-1976	270
	a. Notes on a conversation, November 28, 1988	270
	b. Introduction: presentation to Presidential interns, July 1979	271
	c. Introductory pages, Political Cartoons catalog	272
III	Papers concerning the Truman Library and the Institute	278
	a. Notes on a conversation, November 29, 1988	278
	b. Letter from Paul R. Porter, October 24, 1979	280
	c. Letter from John S. Service, April 24, 1981	281
	d. Letter from Elmer B. Staats, April 21, 1987 and draft agreement between the Truman Library Institute and Duke University	282
	e. Letter from Charles S. Murphy, January 15, 1979	286
	f. Letter from Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., January 31, 1979	287
	g. Letter from Ben Zobrist for Charles S. Murphy, April 18, 1979	288
	h. Statement on "The Ending of Lend-Lease," by Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., May 1, 1979 (written)	289
	i. Statement on "Full Employment Policy," by Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., May 1, 1979 (written)	291
	j. Draft of Statement on "The Struggle Over ITO," by Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., 1979 (written)	293
	k. Letter from Tom Blaisdell, March 26, 1980	297
	l. Letter from Charles S. Murphy, March 19, 1981	299
IV	Papers concerning the Ditchley Foundation	301
	a. Ditchley Foundation Lecture, April 27, 1962, opening address, Sir John Wheeler-Bennett	301
	b. Closing remarks, Hon. G. Lewis Jones	304
	c. Minutes of Informal Conference on Anglo-American Relations, April 28, 1962	306
V	Biographical summaries by Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., for various purposes	313
	a. Focused primarily on University of California service, August 1974	313
	b. Focused primarily on professional and volunteer community activities, June 1976	323
	c. Primarily employment summary with brief descriptions of responsibilities (no date)	326

VI	International Conference on Agricultural and Cooperative Credit--Introduction to the first of two volumes of Proceedings, published 1953. Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., Director	343
VII	Senior Farewell Meeting, UC Berkeley, May 14, 1963--speech by Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr. on behalf of retiring professors	347
VIII	Letters, Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr. and David E. Lilienthal	351
	a. Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., June 3, 1963	351
	b. David E. Lilienthal, June 5, 1963	352
	c. Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., October 3, 1963	353
	d. David E. Lilienthal, October 9, 1963	354
IX	Tea to celebrate an 85th birthday. Invitation signed Tom Blaisdell	355
X	Why Eleanor Roosevelt? (draft June 28, 1988)	356
XI	Traveling (summary, 1988)	358
XII	Maurine Mulliner, "Senator Wagner's right hand" during the Roosevelt administration	360
	a. Letter to "Dear Letter Writers & Telephoners" September 26, 1988	360
	b. <u>Washington Post</u> , October 12, 1988 re: women in the Cosmos Club	362
XIII	Notes on a conversation, November 14, 1988: The Steel Connection, The Japanese Trip, The Foreign Language Connection, and the World Affairs Council of Northern California	363
XIV	Interview: "A Professorial Jewel," <u>San Francisco Examiner</u> June 19, 1987	366

In addition to the materials included in this Appendix, the following is a list of materials which have been deposited in The Bancroft Library in conjunction with the Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr. oral history memoir.

I. Publications

Consumer Activists 1982 (Blaisdell 178-197)

Discriminate Deterrence January 1988

Selected Readings in Agricultural Credit (for the International Conference on Agricultural and Cooperative Credit, August 4 to September 12, 1952, UC Berkeley in cooperation with the Department of State, Department of Agriculture, Mutual Security Agency)

Organizing an International Conference, Elizabeth K. Bauer, same dates and sponsorship as above

The American Presidency in Political Cartoons: 1776-1976 (marked TCB's working copy)

The Cartoon History of California Politics (Salzman and Brown, 1978) with an inscription by Tom Worth, 1979. (note format similarity of above)

Notes at Ninety, Tom Blaisdell, December 2, 1985

Peking Rugs and Peking Boys: A Study of the Rug Industry in Peking, C. C. Chu and Thomas Blaisdell, Jr. (Special Supplement of the Chinese Social and Political Science Review, April 1924)

II. Miscellaneous items

correspondence to Ford Foundation: includes report on travels, sabbaticals 1958, EEC

working page re: Peking Rugs

annotated itinerary and list of persons met, APA Tour-Seminar in Africa, 1966

U.S. Senate pamphlet on hearings concerning the nomination of Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr. to be Assistant Secretary of Commerce, 1949
clippings and booklets on international affairs

Gail Lapidus, "Gorbachev and the Reform of the Soviet System," reprint 1987

minutes, Executive Committee, Harry S Truman Library Institute, with note on Blaisdell's letter concerning educational programs for minority students

"China Then and Now," 33-page booklet re 1980 diary by Blaisdell

Frank Bane, 4-page prescription for unanimous renomination and easy reelection

materials concerning the Truman Library Institute

Austin Robinson clipping, 1986

State Department Report on EEC (1988?)

photographs not included in the oral history memoir

Tom and Jane Blaisdell
 19778 Junipero Way
 Saratoga, CA 95070
 408-867-1950

January 2, 1989

Dear Friends of Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.,

Dad died early the evening of December 27, 1988 at his home in Berkeley. It was the 67th anniversary of his and Mother's marriage. He sat down and was having his normal drink and hors d'oeuvres before dinner and had a heart attack. His faithful housekeeper was with him at the time. He died very quickly and peacefully. He had been grocery shopping with friends during the day, had a cappuccino and had been for a short walk in the afternoon. My wife Jane, our youngest daughter, Carol and her new husband had been with him on Christmas Day for gift exchange and he had put together a great dinner for us. In addition I had brought him down here to Saratoga (I convinced him to stop driving about six months ago) over Thanksgiving for a feast. He also had attended our youngest daughter's wedding on October 15. He had lived a rich, "first class" 93 years and had begun to fret over the limitations his advancing years were causing. We are grateful he was able to live out his life in his own home.

Many of you know that he was working on an oral history of his many years to work in government and academic circles and that project was almost finished. I have assured those who were working on that with him that it will be finished.

Many of his friends and associates have asked if there will be "services". As you know he was a very modest person who never wanted anyone to make a fuss over him. He and Mother organized their own fiftieth anniversary party and he put on a party to celebrate his ninetieth birthday. There was nothing when my mother died. I do not believe he would want anything. I hope you all will accept this decision on my part (I have talked with several of his friends about it). I do hope that each of you will, in your own way, in a church, synagogue, on top of a mountain, at a party, or wherever, celebrate and remember his rich life in your own way. Since many of you knew him in a different context than we did, we'd appreciate your sharing any special remembrances with us.

There were many organizations to which he contributed regularly. For those of you who wish to make memorials in his name, I have selected three which I think he would have picked as representative of those he loved and/or believed in.

End for Cal-in-the-Capital - University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720

The Young Musicians Program - University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720

Harry S. Truman Institute - c/o H.S.T. Library, Independence, Missouri 64050

Finally, to those of you whom I did not call and/or those who receive this letter indirectly - my apologies. My Dad's list of friends is endless and I do not have many of your phone numbers or addresses.

Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.,--HN

Notes on a Conversation, November 28, 1988

The American Presidency in Cartoons, 1776-1976, an exhibit developed by TB and Peter Selz

January 1976, the bi-centennial year, this exhibit was presented at the University Art Museum, developed by cooperation of the departments of art history and political science. A graduate seminar of 13 students was organized to study the presidency and to develop the show. Each student was assigned a group of Presidents as the topic of cartoons they were to locate. TB got some money so they

could travel to the New York Public Library, Harvard Library, the LBJ Library, the Library of Congress (where TB also did some research), wherever cartoons were collected. The project workers were able to get 90 percent of the cartoons in the original that appeared in the show.

In the catalog, each student wrote the story for the cartoons he or she had researched. Herblock was the speaker at the opening. He said that Washington was a remarkable (?) place: the buildings talk. "The White House says..."

TB tried repeatedly to get into Herblock's office, only to be frustrated by the secretary. Finally, when he got in, Herblock asked whether TB had been around in the Roosevelt days. TB said yes, and after extended uncertainty, Herblock did come and speak.

The show traveled to several locations including the LBJ Library, the museum, in Chicago, Indianapolis, the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D.C. Then all the borrowed cartoons were returned. Zoë Baird, a student of TB, with a distinguished career in law, ^{who} served on the attorney general's staff, and in the Carter White House, asked if TB would be willing to show the cartoons to the Presidential interns. TB received many letters of appreciation; about half said that the writer had never before understood the presidency of the US, but did so now.

TB organized this show on his own, after becoming emeritus. He recalled that he had ~~received~~ money from the National Endowment for the Arts, and from Chancellor Bowker.

July 1974
Appendix II bThomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.

to Presidential Interns

For Cartoon Introduction:

Mr. Blaisdell is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of California in Berkeley. He graduated from Pennsylvania State College after study at Alma College and in Berlin, Germany. He did his graduate work at Columbia University.

He taught at Ewing Christian College in Allahabad, India and at Yenching University in Peking, China, before going to Columbia University, where he taught until the summer of 1933. He held numerous positions in Washington during the New Deal. During World War II he served in the War Production Board and in 1945 became Chief, Mission for Economic Affairs in London. Later he served as Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs. Since coming to Berkeley as Director of the Bureau of International Relations in 1951, he has taken part in numerous assignments for the United Nations, the American government, and the Ford Foundation. He was responsible for developing much of the work which the University of California has done with the University of Indonesia in cooperation with the Ford Foundation and the American government.

Since retiring in 1965, he has had a wide variety of interests. He was chairman of a United Nations mission to appraise the United Nations development program in Thailand. He has been a member of the Board of Directors of International House in Berkeley, International Voluntary Services (a private agency which was predecessor to the Peace Corps), and the Truman Library Institute at Independence, Mo., where he became interested in the Library's cartoon collection. He has worked with Berkeley students to develop intern programs at Sacramento, in Washington, D. C., and at the U.N. in New York. During 1974-75, he and Professor Peter Selz of the History of Art Department conducted a seminar entitled "The American Presidency in Cartoons, 1776-1976." The students produced materials for a Bicentennial Exhibit at the University Art Museum in Berkeley with the same title as the seminar. The exhibit opened on January 12, 1976. At the end of February, it traveled to the LBJ Library at Austin, Texas, then to the University of Chicago, then the Indianapolis Museum, and finally to the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D. C.

Mr. Blaisdell will talk about the American Presidency and show some of the cartoon from this above-noted exhibition.

The American Presidency in Political Cartoons: 1776-1976

Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., Peter Selz and Seminar

University Art Museum, Berkeley

Table of Contents

5	Lenders to the Exhibition
7	Foreword
9	Acknowledgments
11	Preface, Peter Selz
21	<i>The Changing Presidency</i> , Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.
38B	Chronology
	Catalogue Entries
39	George Washington to John Quincy Adams: 1789-1829
57	Andrew Jackson to James Buchanan: 1829-1861
89	Abraham Lincoln to Andrew Johnson: 1861-1869
111	Ulysses S. Grant to William McKinley: 1869-1901
147	Theodore Roosevelt to Herbert Hoover: 1901-1933
185	Franklin D. Roosevelt to Dwight D. Eisenhower: 1933-1961
225	John F. Kennedy to Gerald Ford: 1961-
	Appendix
271	Abbreviated Bibliography
272	Catalogue of Exhibition

Lenders to the Exhibition

Judith Bernstein, Berkeley, California

Herbert Block (Herblock)

Paul Conrad, *Los Angeles Times*

Jules Feiffer

Lou Grant

William Gropper

Robert Grossman

Mr. and Mrs. Draper Hill,
Memphis, Tennessee

Ranan Lurie

Robert Pryor

Ira D. Rothfeld, M.D., New York, New York

Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Rudolph,
Williamstown, Mass.

Joseph A. Smith

Paul Szep, Boston

Private Collection

American Antiquarian Society

Boston Public Library, Print Department

Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library

Forum Gallery, New York, New York

Free Library of Philadelphia

The General Library, University of
California, Berkeley

Herbert Hoover Presidential Library

Houghton Library, Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass.

Jane Haslem Gallery, Washington, D.C.

John F. Kennedy Presidential Library

The Library Company of Philadelphia
Library of Congress

Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library

Maryland Historical Society

New Jersey State Museum

The New-York Historical Society

The New York Public Library, Prints
Division

Riverside City & County Public Library

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library,
Hyde Park, New York

Stanford University Libraries,
Stanford, California

State Historical Society of Missouri

Swann Collection of Caricature and Cartoon

Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and
Museum, Independence, Missouri

University Art Museum, Berkeley

University of California, Los Angeles,
Library

University of Chicago Library

University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City

Schedule of the Exhibition

University Art Museum, Berkeley

January 13 / February 22, 1976

Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library,
Austin, Texas

March 15 / April 25, 1976

The David and Alfred Smart Gallery,
University of Chicago

May 13 / June 27, 1976

Indianapolis Museum of Art
August 2 / September 12, 1976

National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.
October 15 / November 28, 1976

Foreword

The American Presidency in Political Cartoons: 1776-1976 is the Museum's principal bicentennial exhibition. When Thomas Blaisdell, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, originally proposed the exhibition two years ago, Professor Peter Selz, then director of the Museum, and the curatorial staff recognized the uniqueness and significance of his suggestion. Professors Blaisdell and Selz agreed that research for the exhibition and accompanying publication evolve from a graduate seminar co-sponsored by the Departments of History of Art and Political Science. This idea was compatible with one of the Museum's continuing goals—cooperation with academic departments in the development of exhibition programs. The Museum also welcomed an opportunity to present graphic material which had never been seen before in the original medium, permitting viewers to experience first-hand the immediacy and power of the rendered image. Moreover, the cartoonists' pungent historical observations of the Presidency and its national and international influence seemed extraordinarily appealing and timely as a bicentennial exhibition.

The exhibition is the result of the collaboration of many individuals, and Professors Blaisdell and Selz, guest curators, have thanked specific people and organizations in their acknowledgments. We are particularly grateful to the National Endowment for the Arts which provided a generous grant for the exhibition and publication. Over the years the National Endowment has assisted the Museum with many projects, and their continuing support is sincerely appreciated. We were fortunate as well to have received unstinting encouragement and financial support from several University organizations

and administrative units. Our heartfelt thanks also go to Mrs. Harley Stevens of San Francisco for her generous contribution to the exhibition.

We are pleased with the extensive circulation for the exhibition. Our warmest thanks to the directors and staffs of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, The David and Alfred Smart Gallery (University of Chicago), the Indianapolis Museum of Art, and the National Portrait Gallery. We owe special thanks to the lenders to the exhibition who have generously agreed to loan their works for a full year; their cooperation has allowed us to place the show with major institutions across the country, where it can be enjoyed by thousands of viewers.

Our deepest appreciation goes to Thomas Blaisdell, Peter Selz and the thirteen students who devoted months to research and review of enormous numbers of cartoons. The quality of the exhibition and the publication could not have been realized without their extraordinary efforts.

Joy Feinberg
Curator of Collections and Exhibitions

Acknowledgments

The American Presidency in Political Cartoons: 1776-1976 has been a cooperative venture. Students, faculty, staff and administrators of the University have taken part. They have been helped by generous contributions from several federal agencies, as well as from private institutions and individuals.

The most important aspects of the exhibition and the accompanying publication—the selection of the cartoons and the interpretations of them—were carried out by the thirteen students who took part in a seminar sponsored jointly by the Departments of the History of Art and Political Science. These students—Lani Abbott, Gretchen Beck, Judith Bernstein, Cheryl Brown, Danny Einstein, Ann Harlow, Linda Harris, Laura Kates, Gail Katz, Mark Manolson, Janet Potter, Mark Summers and Bradley Webb—spent much time in researching and writing; their interest and hard work is evident in every aspect of the book and exhibition. (The initials of the students follow the catalogue entries.) Two other students, Zoë Baird and Joanne Jackson, were of great help in the origination of the project.

When the work of the seminar was completed, the staff of the University Art Museum, Berkeley, brought the exhibition and book to fruition. We wish to thank Curatorial Assistants Bonnie Earls and Nan Rosenbloom, in particular, for the many long hours they have spent on the exhibition and publication; Miss Earls in coordinating the abundance of loan information, and Miss Rosenbloom in editing and overseeing the production of the book. We also wish to thank Joy Feinberg, Curator of Collections and Exhibitions, for her overall curatorial coordination of the project; David Leonetti, Assistant Director/Administra-

tive, for his handling of the financial matters relating to the exhibition and book; Bruce Montgomery, for his book design; Mya Pelletier, Registrar; and Carlos Gutierrez-Solana, Installations Coordinator. Former Acting Directors James Cahill and Jerrold Ballaine were supportive of the project, as was former Assistant Director/Curatorial, Brenda Richardson.

Within the University, several other individuals and organizations have been extremely gracious. Professor Norman Jacobson, Chairman of the Political Science Department, and Professor L. D. Ettlinger, former Chairman of the History of Art Department, made the seminar possible. Grateful acknowledgment is accorded to Chancellor Albert Bowker for the provision of funds to support the program. The Bicentennial Committee of the University, and its Chairman, Professor Garff Wilson, gave both moral and financial support to our project. The Committee for Arts and Lectures, particularly Professor Jerome Thomas, Vice-Chairman, and Ann Soengen, Secretary, was responsible for having cartoonist Herbert L. Block lecture at the University in conjunction with the exhibition. Dorothy Gregor and Joseph Rosenthal of The General Library made the University's collection of lithographs and engravings available to us. Various portions of the manuscript received editorial assistance from Nancy Becker, Ann Harlow and Lorna Price.

We are most appreciative of the generosity and cooperation of many agencies of the federal government. Those agencies which have custody of the cartoons—the Library of Congress and the Presidential Libraries—were very kind in making them available for our exhibition. We wish to thank the

following individuals for their particular help: Alan Fern, Director of the Prints Division of the Library of Congress, and his associates Morton Kaplan and Leonard Faber. The following Museum Curators were of great assistance: Gary A. Yarrington, of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library; David Powers, of the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library; Will Jones, of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library; James Whitehead, of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library; Suzanne D. Rogers, of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library; and Milton F. Perry, of the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum. James Rhoads, Archivist of the United States, and his associates John Jacobs and Daniel Reed, and John Spencer of the National Endowment for the Arts must also be thanked for their help and encouragement.

Robert Johnson, Curator in Charge, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, must be thanked for his gracious assistance with the various cataloguing problems the publication presented.

We are most grateful to the National Endowment for the Arts, Washington, D.C., for its financial support. Mrs. Harley C. Stevens must also receive our special thanks for her interest and generosity.

To the many lenders who have parted with their works, and to the living cartoonists who have been so gracious and generous, we owe our deepest appreciation.

We believe that all who have taken part in this book and exhibition have found great satisfaction and pleasure in this celebration of the Bicentennial.

Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.
Peter Selz

Second Annual Meeting of the Harry S. Truman Library Institute Board of Directors, March 28, 1959. From left to right: Herman Kahn, Director, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park; Dr. Franklin D. Murphy, Chancellor, University of Kansas, Lawrence; James V. Jones, St. Louis University, St. Louis; Dean Francis M. Heller, Professor of Political Science and Associate Dean, University of Kansas, Lawrence; Dr. Richard M. Drake, Chancellor, Kansas City University; Dr. W.D. Aeschbacher, Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Lawrence; Dr. Pete Kyle McCarter, Vice President, University of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City; Andrew J. Eaton, Librarian, Washington University of St. Louis; Tom L. Evans, Chairman of the Board, KCMO, Kansas City; David D. Lloyd, Executive Director, Harry S. Truman Library Inc., Washington, D.C.; Harry S. Truman; Dr. Elmer Ellis, President, University of Missouri, Columbia; Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director, Harry S. Truman Library; Dr. Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the U.S., Washington, D.C.; Dean Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis; Professor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Harvard University, Cambridge; Professor Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., University of California, Berkeley; Dr. Earl J. McGrath, Columbia University, New York; Dr. Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin, Madison; Professor James L. Sellers, University of Nebraska, Lincoln; Mr. Rufus Burrus, Attorney, Independence, Missouri.

Photograph courtesy of the Harry S. Truman Library



Notes on a Conversation November 29, 1988The Truman Library

David Lloyd, a member of Truman's staff, had also worked with TB in London. Lloyd was a speechwriter for Truman and was one of the leaders in establishing and organizing the Truman Library. He also helped bring about TB's appointment after the latter returned from London and worked in the Department of Commerce in the Truman administration. TB reviews books related to President Truman and his administration for book awards every year; this assignment is a fallout from Lloyd.

Concerning the Duke University proposal: Charles Murphy, Truman's counsel, died, and some of Murphy's friends suggested honoring him by establishing at Duke University an annual Truman Lecture, and the Truman Memorial Institute. An editorial in the London Economist evaluated US universities' programs for Black students as well as those from other countries. The paper cited the program at Duke, and noted that Duke's president had a special interest in relationships between Blacks and whites in the South.

When Truman decided to integrate the US armed forces, he named Charles Fahey as chairman of the committee. A lawyer from New Orleans, Fahey asked Truman whether he wanted to receive a report, or actually to integrate. Truman said, "to integrate," and Fahey agreed to prepare the report accordingly.

Concerning the Truman Library Scholarship Program: four students from each state each receive \$5,000 a year for four years. A senator from Missouri put this project through Congress.

November 29, 1988

2

Various topics

Suggest some discussion of the "era of Apartheid" in the US. Until Lincoln's presidency, the states still had the right to decide on slavery. The first 10 amendments to the Constitution differentiated between federal and state control. In his second term, Lincoln was elected only by Northern votes; the Southern states had seceded. TB's wife, Catharine had helped to override the Supreme Court during "apartheid," by causing her board on aid for children in Georgetown to include Black as well as white children in their service.

PAUL R. PORTER
11164 Saffold Way
Reston, Virginia 22090
(703) 471-4070

Oct. 24, 1979

Mr. Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.
9 Greenwood Common
Berkeley, California 94708

Dear Tom:

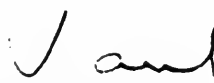
As time permits, I have been annotating my public papers for the Truman Library. I did not save very many papers, but among them are some that I wrote in London in 1946. You may remember several which were written while you were there. In any event, I imagine you will recall well the setting in which they were written.

I enclose a memoir, From the Morgenthau Plan to the Marshall Plan, written to serve as introduction to them. I think you may find it interesting, and if you note any errors or oversights I would be grateful if you would bring them to my attention.

A half dozen years ago I turned to a study of cities as a retirement interest. I read quite a few books, and it seemed to me that all (that is, all that I read) overlooked important reserve strengths of cities that have been neglected. So I wrote a book of my own, calling it The Recovery of American Cities. It was not a bestseller, but it cost me my retirement. Cleveland State University invited me to become an adjunct professor, so at age 70 I began an academic career, commuting to Cleveland from Reston on alternate weeks. Now, two foundations are financing a project under the university's auspices to test some of the book's ideas in seven Cleveland neighborhoods. I am the director, but have a good staff and limit my participation to half time.

I am sending you an autographed copy of the book under separate cover.

Best regards,


Paul R. Porter

April 24, 1981

Dear Tom:

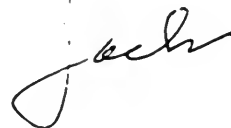
The other night we were discussing the right man to pull together newly available materials, especially from the Truman Library, to produce a better picture of the Truman Administration and the Far East. I mentioned a man who, I was sure, could do a fine job. His name is:

Prof. John F. Nelby
134 Dublin N.
Guelph, Ontario
Canada N1H 4N7

During the later years of the war, John was an FSO in Moscow under Harriman. About the end of the war, he was sent to China and was there through the Marshall period. (His journal of this exercise in futility has produced an excellent book: The Mandate of Heaven, University of Toronto Press, 1968.) Next, he was in the Department at the end of the 1940s, had a very important role in putting together the "China White Paper," made some unpopular recommendations regarding our growing involvement in French Indochina, and got fired (I think in early 1953). The employment situation in this country being tough in those days, he finally ended up at Professor and head of the Department of Political Science at Guelph University--where he still resides in an emeritus status.

Caroline and I are off for Washington, Oberlin, etc. this next Tuesday. We'll hope to see you soon after our return, in early June.

Cheers,





Harry S. Truman Scholarship Foundation Appendix III d
712 Jackson Place, NW, Washington, DC 20006
Telephone Area Code 202-395-4831

April 21, 1987

Dr. Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.
Professor Emeritus
Political Science Department
210 Barrows Hall
University of California
Berkley, California 94720

Dear Tom:

I hope that you plan to be present at the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Truman Library Institute on May 9. This will be an important meeting because the attached draft agreement will be up for a decision by the Board. I know that you share the great admiration which all of us have for Charlie Murphy and the worthiness of the proposal to establish the Center at Duke University, his alma mater. We hear that there may be some problem of getting a favorable vote on the agreement. I hope that this is not the case.

In any event, if you are not present to support it, perhaps you could give your proxy to David Stowe, former assistant to President Truman, 7402 Glenbrook Road, Bethesda, Maryland 20814, who will be present and who has been working with Charlie Brannan on the project.

Unfortunately I have to be here in connection with awards of the Truman Scholarships that weekend and will not be present. I have given my proxy to David Stowe and I hope that you will do so also in case that you are not going to be able to be present.

Sincerely,

Elmer B. Staats
Chairman
Board of Trustees

Attachment

D R A F T

A G R E E M E N T

Between the Harry S. Truman Library Institute
for National and International Affairs ("the Institute")
a Missouri corporation,
and Duke University ("the University"),
a North Carolina corporation

WHEREAS the Institute was established in 1957, at the request of former President Harry S. Truman, "to encourage, foster and assist the growth and development of the Harry S. Truman Library as a national center for study and research"; and

WHEREAS the said Institute, by its Articles of Incorporation, is directed to engage in a range of activities which include "(f) generally to promote and encourage public understanding of the nature and function of the Government of the United States and the problems with which it is concerned in national and international affairs, especially during the contemporary period beginning in the early years of the 20th Century"; and

WHEREAS the University is desirous of serving the same purpose by the establishment of a Center for American Government to honor its

distinguished alumnus and long-time member of its Board of Trustees Charles S. Murphy, who as part of his long public service was Special Counsel to President Truman and in later years a member and president of the Board of Directors of the Institute; and

WHEREAS the University, as a part of the activities of said Center, is planning an annual lecture to be named in honor of former President Harry S. Truman.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

1. The Institute will provide to the University the funds necessary to conduct an annual Truman Lecture (or similar program agreeable to the Institute) as an activity of the Charles S. Murphy Center for American Government (or other such facility agreeable to the Institute, should the Murphy Center not be available) in an amount required to cover the University's direct expenses, but not to exceed \$5,000 (five thousand dollars) in each of the ten (10) consecutive calendar years following the effective date of this agreement.

2. The University agrees to schedule annually a Truman Lecture (or similar program agreeable to the Institute) as an activity of the Charles S. Murphy Center for American Government (or other like facility of the University, should the Murphy Center not be available) so long as this agreement shall remain in force and effect. The

University also agrees to advise the Secretary of the Institute at least thirty (30) days prior to the date of each such event of the costs anticipated to be incurred by the University in arranging and conducting such Truman Lecture (or similar program).

3. The University shall include in all announcements and programs for said Truman Lecture (or similar program) a statement crediting the Institute for its financial support thereof.

4. If any such lecture (or report of proceedings) is subsequently printed, the University will provide the Institute with at least twenty-five (25) copies of such publication.

5. This agreement shall terminate after ten (10) years unless extended by prior agreement of the parties.

6. This agreement shall become effective on the first day of the calendar year following its approval by both the Board of Directors of the Institute and an authorized official of the University.

for Truman Institute


for Duke University

Date

4.14.87
Date



Appendix III e

HARRY S. TRUMAN LIBRARY INSTITUTE

HARRY S. TRUMAN LIBRARY • INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI 64050

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 former Secretary of the Treasury
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 former United States Senator
 MACK E. THOMPSON
 Executive Director
 American Historical Association

January 15, 1979

Professor Thomas C. Blaisdell
 Department of Political Science
 210 Barrows Hall
 University of California
 Berkeley, California 94720

Dear Tom:

Our communications about our conference next May on the economic policies of the Truman Administration - at least my part of the communications - are rather wobbly. I did try to reach you on the phone before Christmas and Ben Zobrist has sent me a copy of his letter to you of December 21, 1978.

We are counting you as a participant in the conference.

Enclosed is a copy of the memorandum we are sending out to all the participants.

I look forward to being in touch with you soon. With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Charles S. Murphy

Enclosures - 2
 CSM/mjr



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
(5) 642-6323

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

January 31, 1979

Charles S. Murphy,
Ben Zobrist,
Harry S. Truman Library Institute,
Independence, Mo. 64050

Dear Ben and Charlie:

I ain't mad nor nothing. Hope my silence hasn't taken me off your correspondence lists. In all fundamentals, it should. Since Mid December there have been a number of things which have kept me from doing anything but the immediate. Having taken on more things than I should, too much illness, too long away from Berkeley and no secretarial help has prevented my doing much that I should have.

Ofcourse I shall want to take part in the Conference at the time of the meeting of the Board of the Library.

There are several things with which I had a first hand contact which can be helpful in understanding some of the problems in the economic doings of the Truman Administration. Most ~~xxx~~ of the direct association had to do with the international economics and much of that has been dealt with too much already in the flood of writing about the Marshall Plan. The following are some of the things I can touch on:

1. Ending of Lend-Lease
2. Struggle over International Trade Organisation, Marshall Plan planning in the Commerce Department, struggle over policy toward European economic integration.
3. The switch from Marshall plan to Mutual Assistance
4. Impact of the Korean War and the administration of Export Controls.
5. The beginnings of the functioning of the Full Employment Act.
Over the last 40 years it has given national economic policy a consistency of policy unmatched in any other field. (I expect Leon Keyserling will be long on this.)

I will follow your request and give you something more in the way of outline of what I shall want to say.

Several names occur to me who might be particularly useful at the Conference - David Bell, Charles Kindleberger, Eugene Black. A number of others who may be still around such as Wm. MacChesney Martin.

Although this is not a David Lloyd Prize year I hope that we can invite Bob Farrell and Norman Graebner for the Conference.

Sincerely,

Tom

The Harry S. Truman Library Institute for National and International Affairs. Independence, Missouri, March 26, 1960. Seated, left to right: Tom L. Evans, Chairman of the Board, KCMO; David D. Lloyd, Executive Director, Harry S. Truman Library, Inc.; Franklin D. Murphy, Chancellor, University of Kansas; Harry S. Truman; Elmer Ellis, President, University of Missouri; Philip C. Brooks, Director, Harry S. Truman Library. Standing, left to right: Rufus Burrus, Attorney; James L. Sellers, Professor of History, Harvard University; Robert Branyan, History, University of Kansas City; Francis H. Heller, Professor of Political Science and Associate Dean, University of Kansas; Samuel P. Hays, Professor of History, University of Iowa; Cyrus S. Eaton, Chairman of the Board, Chesapeake and Ohio Railway; Rufus Hall, University of Oklahoma; Lyman H. Butterfield, Editor in Chief, The Adams Papers; John Bowditch, History, University of Minnesota; Andrew Eaton, Director of Libraries, Washington University; W.D. Aeschbacher, Secretary-Treasurer, Mississippi Valley Historical Association; Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson; W. Averell Harriman, former Governor of New York; Boyd Shafer, Executive Secretary, American Historical Association; James V. Jones, Director of Libraries, St. Louis University; Earl J. McGrath, Executive Officer, Teachers College, Columbia University; Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., Professor of Political Science, University of California; Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States; Merle Curti, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin.

Photograph courtesy of the Harry S. Truman Library

To Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.
From Harry Brown





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HARRY S. TRUMAN LIBRARY • INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI 64050

TELEPHONE AREA CODE 816/833-1400

April 18, 1979

Professor Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.
Dept. of Political Science
210 Barrows Hall
University of California
Berkeley, CA 94720

Dear Professor Blaisdell:

When we issued the invitations to this conference we described it as a "collective oral history" session. Our plan for the conference follows this concept. All participants will be encouraged to contribute to the discussion at any point. The only structuring will consist in the identification, for each session, of a panel of participants as principal respondents, i.e. these will be the persons who will have an opportunity to make opening statements and to whom the moderator will address his initial questions. But responses will be welcomed from all present.

Obviously, many of the participants have the knowledge and the experience to be principal respondents for all three sessions. The breakdown in the draft program attached is not intended to suggest anything else; it is by and large, dictated by a desire to provide a fairly equal division.

If you have not yet sent us a written statement on the Truman economic policies, I would hope that you might still be able to do this. As I mentioned in an earlier letter, please mail your statement directly to Dr. Zobrist at the Truman Library.

Sincerely,

for Ben Zobrist
CHARLES S. MURPHY
President

Enclosures

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Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO
Washington, D.C.
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RICHARD E. NEUSTADT
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American Historical Association

The Ending of Lend-Lease

The establishment of Lend-Lease has long been recognised as one of the most important initiatives of President Roosevelt for winning WW.II. Its immediate purpose was providing supplies to fighting allies before the USA was an active participant. But the secondary objective was too often overlooked. To use the Keynesian title, "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," it was clear to Roosevelt and his associates that the handling of war loans and reparations after World War I had been at the root of endless years of international economic troubles. After WW.II this should not happen again.

Needless to detail there were many critics of President Roosevelt among his associates. Their conceptions of the problems were not far from those of President Coolidge. They hired the money, didn't they?

The problems of re-establishing international relationships after WW.II were and still are complicated. The questions of reparations, particularly the insistence of the USSR on its billions and the attempt to satisfy the French and the Yugoslavs with "reparations in kind," were to form an exceedingly difficult economic facet of the struggles after the war between the allied governments. Germany and Japan had little to say on the outcome.

One incident at the immediate close of the European phase illustrated two difficulties due to the lack of clarity of thinking and even hostility on the subject of Lend-Lease. No one associated with Lend-Lease, as my office in London had been, could have been more surprised than I at an announcement from Washington that Lend-Lease had ceased and that ships carrying Lend-Lease shipments were returning to the USA.

The previous day, Will Clayton, Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, had been in my office. He was in Europe in connection with the negotiations for the development of the proposed International Trade Organisation. He had consulted with Ambassador Winant, and we were talking of various problems associated with the situation developing in the Far East. We were both concerned with Lend-Lease significance, particularly since it was anticipated that both the USSR and UK would be active in the Pacific War. Mr. Clayton talked on the telephone with Mr. Byrnes as head of the Office of War Mobilisation and Reconversion. Clayton told me that he had been assured that no action would be taken on Lend-Lease until he had returned to Washington. He was leaving the next day. So not only were the UK (and USSR) officials surprised, but those of us in the UK with responsibility

2.

were surprised. It was not surprising that President Truman should have signed the order. But it was surprising that officials who were so closely associated with the major efforts as Byrnes and Crowley, should have recommended such action. Mr. Vinson who had only recently become associated with the actions could have been excused.

It didn't take long for the President when he became aware of the magnitude of the error to correct it. But in the process issues were precipitated with the USSR as well as the UK which are still unsettled.

A second incident from just before the close of the fighting in Europe was related to these problems in the settlement of Lend-Lease. I had been convinced of the necessity of clearing the air with regard to the readjustment of these post-war economic relations. I had lunch with Lord Keynes and we had a long talk. The gist of my comments to him was that he should arrange to go to Washington and get the talks under way which would enable both countries to know how to think about the next steps. It was particularly important that the developments in regard to the Bretton Woods institutions and the pending discussions for an International Trade Organisation should be developed. Some things stick in one's memory, and I believe this one is not imagination. "No. I do not think this is the time. I have planned to go in September. At that time we will discuss these issues." He did go in September. It was not long after his return from the trip that he died.

Thomas C. Blaisdell

May 1, 1979

Full Employment Policy

Appendix III i

In the immediate post-war period the Full Employment Act of 1946 was adopted and signed by the President. It was timely, for World War II had demonstrated the nation's capabilities when its full resources were used. 1945 had begun with WW.II in full swing. But consideration was already being given to post-war problems. As long as fighting was in progress, civilian economics took second place to war production. Money was cheap. It could even be printed as long as it served the purpose of producing and transferring goods. The important question was whether it was possible to service a war and at the same time keep the civilian economy turning over.

It has often been said that it took the War to demonstrate what was needed to produce a "full employment economy." This was true. There was little understanding of the size of the unused economic resources available. They provided not only military supplies and equipment, 10 million people in military service, high-grade domestic civilian services, but also large quantities of military and civilian goods and services to allies in the form of Lend-Lease goods. The answer had been clear. High-level production was possible as long as priorities were right.

When Vice President Truman became President, wartime priorities were still dominant. However by the end of 1945, a series of new priorities had to be established. Reconversion to high levels of civilian production was certainly one of them, but there were others. Undoubtedly at the top of the list in the USA was the return of government originated production to privately originated production. This may sound simple, but there were in fact many complications. The equities involved military contract cancellation, the return of soldiers to civilian life, the withdrawal of many from the labor force, the reduction in government activity, as well as the highly complicated problems of conflicting objectives in international economics as related to international political problems.

Among the high-level priorities was the seemingly simple "full employment of resources in peace time." In 1942, the National Resources Planning Board had proposed this as an objective to be pursued after the War. The Congress had begun to think of it. As Senator President Truman had been a member of the Senate Committee considering such legislation. After lengthy consideration in the fall of 1945, in early 1946 the "Full Employment Act of 1946" was passed and signed by the President.

2.

In a sense the most important feature of the Act was its simplicity. It caught the sense of commitment of the citizenry as well as the Congress and the President so well that it took on a Constitutional character. For over thirty years it has set the tone of national political economy. With the ins and outs of Republican and Democratic Congresses and Presidents, the Act with its provision for annual Presidential recommendations and Congressional review, has established the focus of the debate over national economic policy and continued the emphasis on the responsibility of government for high-level economic productivity.

The objective of full employment has been maintained throughout the many interpretations and understandings of fiscal practice in various forms of government expenditure and tax collections. The characteristic still stands which President Truman gave it when he signed it. He repeated it in part ten years later in a letter to Christian Sonne of the National Planning Association.

"There is almost no other piece of domestic legislation while I was President to which I attach equal significance. . . Although the Act was developed under Democratic leadership, it was adopted by overwhelming majorities of both parties in Congress. Now (1966) it has been accepted in practice by a Republican Administration." Later in the letter he said, "When signing the Act ten years ago I said, 'The Employment Act of 1946 is not the end of the road but rather the beginning.' I would still say today we are only at the beginning of the road leading toward a stabilized economy of continuing high and steady employment." Still later in the letter, President Truman said, "One danger in the present situation is that too many people may take full employment for granted. Some people are prone to forget how much our policies have contributed to the degree of stability that has been achieved. . . The age of abundance will not fall into our laps without an effort."

My own association with the ideas involved had gone into the original proposal of the National Resources Board. During most of the War I had worked at the development of the wartime economy in the War Production Board. In early 1945, I had been sent to London to assume responsibilities in the activities of the various Combined Boards and the administration of the civilian phases of Lend-Lease. I was there for the ending of the War and an endeavor to initiate some of the reconstruction of the torn societies of Europe.

Thomas C. Blaisdell

May 1, 1979

Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.

(draft)

The Struggle Over ITO

Since the days of Cordell Hull as Secretary of State, "liberal economic policies" have been characteristic of the Department of State. The first Reciprocal Trade Act was Hull's brainchild. It was passed at the same time that other parts of the government, and particularly the Department of Agriculture, were operating on different wavelengths. Agriculture has had its own foreign policy for years, much to the embarrassment of the State and Commerce Departments.

In the post-war planning of the Department of State, the United Nations was the centerpiece. The economic parts were to be the three-legged combination, IMF, IBRD, and the International Trade organization. For international trade economists, free trade and "most favored nation" were fundamental principles; anything else was anathema. An island trader, Great Britain, had found that the freer the trade and the less discrimination there was among traders the better off it was. Continentalists like the Germans, the French, and the USA were interested in such things as protective tariffs.

The interwar years had seen the development of the USA as a world trading nation and Secretary Hull was in his favorite spot. He and many other Americans saw the future in terms of low tariffs and most-favored-nation principles. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 had put the USA in position to take strong moves in getting tariffs reduced around the world. The negotiating principle became, "We will do ourselves a favor if you will do yourself a favor." Agriculture, which had been anxious to find and hold its place

as a world trader had been at its peak in the middle teens. Parity as of 1914 became its goal. But that could not be achieved pricewise in the face of competitive imports, so agricultural policy was omitted from negotiations. (Most European countries were happy to "go along" with this since foreign trade in industrial products was worthwhile, and self sufficiency in agricultural products was necessary for security purposes in European wars.)

For a post-war world, Bretton Woods provided the two legs of a stool. The third would be ITO. Long-term investment could be provided through IBRD, IMF could provide the machinery for international trading finance, and ITO would provide for free trading. For international affairs, agriculture had its own Food and Agriculture agreements. With the end of the European phase of WW II, ITO was still under negotiation. Secretary Clayton was working hard on ITO, and saw loans to the UK and France as the key to bridge to the smooth operation of the new trading system if only ITO could be agreed on.

The major immediate and practical problem was ^{that} the pound sterling was the major trading instrument, but the industrial strength to make a currency great now rested in the USA. The US government as well as the other governments were all insensitive to the degree of industrial weakening which the war had caused. The mechanism of international trade had been further weakened by major operation of the economies by national governments who, with the end of the war, were anxious to get out of the field of private business.

The fine new international instruments needed funds and experience to carry out the reconstruction process. The UK had the institutions but the pound could not carry the strain. Dollars had not been made available sufficiently to finance the new world trading system. (Looking back it is conceivable that all this fine machinery could have been made to work, for when the Congress was unwilling to approve the ~~proposed~~ ITO under the authority granted the President in the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, it was possible

to substitute GATT for ITO. The unwillingness of the USSR didn't help in the new situation.)

Ad hoc arrangements became the order of the day. Loans to France and Britain; no loans for the USSR. Disapproval of reparations for USSR particularly when it was clear that in effect they would be at the cost of the USA. Only with the coming of the Marshall Plan and the development of the broader understanding produced by the prolonged negotiations of the Marshall Plan did it become possible for recovery to move forward on a broad front. In essence, the Marshall Plan made possible the organisation of the capital investment in production and commerce to bring about recovery in Europe.

The slowness with which IMF, IBRD, and GATT began to function dropped the burden on other agencies. The UNRRA did valiant service for a short time. Military supplies to Germany and Japan carried a further part of the financing. The Greek-Turkish loan and the Marshall Plan funds reestablished internal trade in Europe. A little-known agency probably was the key to bringing together the European economy. Jean Monnet had been arguing for a Common Market. Paul Hoffman as the first head of Marshall Plan toured Europe preaching freedom of trading and large marketing areas. But a small group of technicians put together the device known as the European Payments Union.

With the capital funds from the Marshall Plan, the EPU became a clearing "bank." With accounts kept in dollar equivalents each of the European countries used the Bank to bridge the gap of inconvertibility of the post-war currencies. It is unnecessary for purposes of this meeting to go into the details of the functioning of the Bank. Getting agreement to the Payments Union was a tough negotiating job. The UK found it impossible to accept it for a long time. That is understandable for that function was one which historically had been that of the Bank of England.

Over the years the GATT has survived; the IMF and the IBRD survived. Only the GATT has come near to performing functions which had been originally

foreseen. The major part of the international financing function was taken over by the emergence of New York-Washington as the new monetary center. The dollar became the major trading currency. The pound sterling remains an important though minor part of the international trading system. The success of the dollar has been its greatest enemy. For reasons which go far beyond policies of the Truman administration, IMF has never become what its founders hoped. Again the failure is marked by the action in Europe of a new financial arrangement under German-French sponsorship, which has some of the characteristics of the old European Payments Union for stabilizing exchange rates.

(1979)

It soon became clear that the UN ^{Commission} ~~Commission~~ for Europe was not going to be an active operating agency. The USSR was represented and its functions were obviously limited. Paul moved over into other activities having to do with Economic recovery. I do not remember them if I ever knew them. But he was in the stream of recovery activity with the U.S. Army and then the Marshall plan.

Paul's papers have been submitted to the Library and he has written a couple of interpretive pieces explaining them and his place in what became the major activities in Europe.

My own activities had to do with Department of Commerce since State Department had no use for me. * The Department of State was concerned fundamentally with the attempt to establish the International Trade Organisation. The negotiations went on and on but as I recall it the Congress refused to approve the proposal and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade took its place by Executive Agreement. Again the USSR was the cause of the refusal to approve.

For the Department of State's activities of that period it would be worth while to have Willard Thorp present at Independence as well as Paul Porter. They operated at entirely different levels and areas. Willard Thorp is now retired and lives in Amherst, Mass. You may remember that he later was an Ambassador to C.E.C.D.(?). I am not sure on this. My memory is fuzzy but he did have a continuing relation with the various programs. (9 Harkness Rd., Amherst Mass., 01002)

So much for the Meeting. I shall have the recommendation for the Lloyd Frize ready in a few days. I have Farr-ll's recommendations and my own and have yet to receive Norm Graebner's. (Incidentally these two guys should be invited to the conference. They are both diplomatic historians and should be invited just as a matter of courtesy even if they didn't have a more fundamental contribution.)

I want to repeat my recommendation of the past two meetings that the Lloyd Frize value be increased in line with the inflation which means for \$1,000 to \$2,000. This is not an award to a young scholar whose work is to be steered in the direction of the Truman Era. It is the recognition of merit and memorial to Dave. - I don't remember how we handled this the last time around. The financial problem is not there any more. We are not using the money which the Institute has. All of our awards should be reviewed.

This letter has gotten well beyond what I started out to do, i.e., urge that Porter be invited. Sorry I won't be there.

Sincerely,



Tom Blaisdell

P.S. If you would like someone who worked with the UNRRA's activities in China the best person would be Cho Ming-Li. He was the head of Chinese RRA that worked with UNRRA. He lives here in Berkeley. Was formerly professor of Economics here in Berkeley. Until he retired was Chancellor of the Chinese University in Hongkong. (71 Northampton, Berkeley CA 94708)



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
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BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

Mr. Charles Murphy,
Morrison, Murphy, Adams and Haddock,
1776 K St., N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20006

March 26, 1980

Dear Charlie:

Ben Zobrist tells me that he has forwarded my recommendation that Paul Porter be invited to the Conference on International Policy which will be held at the time of the Director's meeting at Independence. You know that I shall be out of the country at that time and can not be present.

My basic reason for wanting Paul there is because of his knowledge of one of the policy organizational moves which was given consideration but which did not come off for various reasons. I remember the idea that United Nations agencies would be directly involved in the recovery programs after the end of the war in 1945.

I remember very well Ed Stetinius sitting in my office in London while he was Secretary of State and on one of his visits in connection with the post war settlement (I think it was at the time of the Food Conference.) We talked about the moves which would be taken and he said that the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations would be the main agency with such responsibilities. Actually the only U.N. Agency which had responsibility was UNRRA and that activity in Europe was largely concerned with a job which had to do with repatriation of war prisoners. UNRRA also did have responsibility for relief distribution in USSR particularly in the Ukraine where it was known as American UNRRA! Of course there was also the Far Eastern operation of UNRRA and the Chinese RRA.

At the time when I returned from London in the fall of 1946 Porter took my place. My activities were concerned with the so-called Emergency Coal Commission, the Emergency Transport Commission, and the Emergency Economic Commission in which the USA, UK, France, and USSR were represented. The Food organization also cleared through our office. These agencies carried on some of the materials allocation work which the Combined Boards did during the war.

Paul Porter took my place in London and about the same time the Foreign Economic Administration activities were transferred to the State Department. Almost simultaneously the regional agency of the United Nations was established with Gunnar Myrdahl as the D.G.. Porter's activities and those of the Mission for Economic Affairs and the Emergency Committees were transferred to the U.N. Economic Committee for Europe. Porter moved to Geneva as I remember it to act for the USA.

Professor Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.

Page 2

March 19, 1981

It was good to hear from you and I will be looking forward to seeing you in May.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Charlie".

Charles S. Murphy

CSM/gm

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Appendix III 1

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DENVER, COLORADO 80202
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IN ORLANDO, FLORIDA
850 CNA TOWER
ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32802
(305) 841-1111

IN COLUMBUS, OHIO
100 EAST BROAD STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215
(614) 228-1541

March 19, 1981

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:

(202) 861-1602

Professor Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.
Department of Political Science
University of California, Berkeley
210 Barrows Hall
Berkeley, California 94720

Dear Tom:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter of February 26 concerning the Truman Library Institute.

As to your questions, Frances Heller is working on the book on the foreign policies of the Truman Administration. I have not had a recent report on it, but I understand that it is coming along well. The oral histories in the Library are generally available to researchers. In some cases, the persons giving the history imposed restrictions, which are observed.

As to the Book Award, I have talked to John Snyder and he is supportive of an increase. I must confess I don't think I mentioned a figure above \$2,000 to him. You and I should try to talk to Averell and John in Independence before the Board meeting and try to get an understanding.

As to the Institute's plans and program for the future, I am retiring as President of the Institute at the May meeting, and it would not seem to me to be appropriate for me to appoint a committee to propose a program for the future. However, I think your suggestions are most timely and will be very welcome to those who will have that responsibility. I expect Jim Olson to be elected President at the May meeting. I will send a copy of your letter to Ben and ask him to make it available to Jim. I know it will be very helpful.

I need not describe to you the grave difficulties which beset any man who has the temerity to follow such inspired leadership. But, since I have the honour to be Sir Roger's immediate successor, it is my great pleasure to tell you what a delight it is to welcome you all here on behalf of the Council. For, by your coming to attend this, the first of our Ditchley Foundation Lectures - and some of you have travelled six thousand miles to be here to-night - you have given us the spur and the encouragement of your approbation. We are deeply grateful to you.

From the first, the Ditchley Project has received the warm and wholehearted support of the United States Embassy in this country. Mr. Jock Witney was one of the first Governors and also a member of the Council. The present Ambassador, Mr. David Bruce, has succeeded him in these capacities and has been unflagging in his help and interest. We thank him most sincerely, and we deeply regret that business of state has prevented his being with us to-night. We do, however, warmly welcome the United States Minister, Mr. Lewis Jones, who has come in his stead.

In any Project of this nature, much depends upon the character and personality of the first Provost. I can assure you that a great deal of thought and care went into our choice and I have no hesitation in saying that in Mr. Harry Hodson we have a Provost entirely in consonance with the Ditchley Project, with its aims, and - if I may use the term - with its ethos. His record needs no embellishment from me. It speaks for itself; it is known to you all. We are indeed fortunate in having secured a man of his stature and his distinction to fill this important office.

DITCHLEY FOUNDATION LECTURE

April 27th, 1962.

Opening Address by Sir John Wheeler-Bennett, K.C.V.O.,
C.M.G.,

Chairman of the Council of the Ditchley Foundation.

Mr. Minister, Mr. Provost, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen;

This is a very moving and a very memorable day.

It is not given to many of us to witness the realization of a dream but that in effect is what is taking place here this evening. It is the dream of Ditchley come true.

Some four or five years ago, Mr. David Wills conceived the wonderful idea of making this house - certainly one of the most beautiful in England - into an educational centre for the study of Anglo-American relations by the conference method. It was a dream, the realization of which might well have daunted lesser men, but Mr. Wills is not only an idealist, he is a man of action, of inspiration, of persuasion, of courage, and of immense generosity. By the exercise of all these attributes he secured the co-operation and support of a number of friends and the Ditchley Project began to get under way. It was during these first days of the Project that Mr. Wills received invaluable assistance from Mr. Robin Darwin who infused into its nascent thinking much of his own vivid imagination and glowing enthusiasm.

The first chairman of the Council of the Ditchley Foundation was Lord Monckton who was succeeded by Sir Roger Makins. It was Sir Roger Makins who brought the Project through its early amorphous period, giving it shape and form, using his wisdom and his experience to delineate its policy, setting upon it the stamp of reality.

There is always the danger at functions such as this, of the Chairman making the Provost's lecture for him! I hasten to assure both him and you that I have neither the wish, the intention, nor - let me quickly add - the capacity, to do this. Nor shall I dilate upon the Ditchley Programme, for this information is already in your hands. But this I feel I must say. The importance of what will be done at Ditchley over the coming months and years lies in the fact that never was there a moment in history when a close and indestructible understanding between Britain and America was more vitally necessary, more desperately needed than it is today. No less a thing than the peace of the world may depend upon it and even, perhaps, the survival of mankind. Whatever, therefore, can be done to further that understanding, to promote co-operation between our two countries, is of the greatest consequence. It is our confident belief that in fulfilling the policy of the Ditchley Project we can make a valuable and significant contribution in this direction.

To-night, at the moment of our Inaugural Lecture, we have reached a point where we can take to ourselves the last message of the dying President Roosevelt to the American people: "Let us move forward with strong and active faith".

I have great pleasure in introducing to you the Provost of Ditchley who will speak on "The Anatomy of Anglo-American Relations".

27th April 1962.

Appendix IV b

Closing Remarks by The Hon. G. Lewis Jones,
Minister, The United States Embassy.

Mr. Chairman, My Ladies and Friends of Ditchley:

We have just heard Mr. Hodson speak eloquently regarding Ditchley and the role which we all hope it will play in the fostering of Anglo-American relations.

It is a privilege for me to say a few words from an American viewpoint.

I do this on behalf of Ambassador Bruce, who has a profound interest in Ditchley. He expected to be here on this happy occasion but has been asked to return to Washington where Prime Minister Macmillan and President Kennedy will be having talks which start tomorrow.

The American Embassy in London has supported from its earliest stages the project to start this remarkable institution. Both Ambassador Whitney and Ambassador Bruce are on the Council of Management. They have followed with interest and enthusiasm the developments culminating in this happy occasion.

I note with great pleasure that a number of my countrymen have been so moved by the Ditchley idea that they have come across the Atlantic specially to participate in today's ceremony. Some have come from as far away as California.

I have only two thoughts to offer you.

The first thought is that if Ditchley turns out to be only one more Anglo-American, hands-across-the-sea institution where the convinced share with the convinced their satisfaction that the British and Americans are not - Thank God! - as other men are, Ditchley will not be what it could, and should, be. If Ditchley becomes only a mutual admiration society and a chantry in which to sing the glories of the Anglo-American alliance, very little of practical value will be accomplished.

There are ties between the United States and the United Kingdom so firm and so abiding that they need not be counted and recounted like prayer beads.

There are also, naturally and inevitably, things - some large, some small - which from time to time arise to untie or weaken the ties between us.

It is to these anti-bodies in the Anglo-American alliance that Ditchley plans to give careful and thoughtful examination. First the anti-bodies must be identified, then their source must be discovered, and lastly an attempt must be made to develop remedies.

There is nothing static, it seems to me, about Anglo-American relations or about many of the problems which we share on both sides of the Atlantic. The United States is developing dynamically, not only from the point of view of population, but also socially, agriculturally and industrially. The United Kingdom is similarly the focus of dynamic and dramatic developments as Prime Minister Macmillan explained so ably last night to the Newspaper Publishers' Association in New York.

So quickly are things moving that it is almost like a radio serial:

"Will Britain be corrupted by the internal combustion engine? Will eating frozen foods change the character of the British people? Will British and American educational facilities meet their needs in coming decades? Will our national characters be destroyed by the pop-up toaster? Listen to our next instalment."

Personally, I look forward to the coming instalments with the greatest confidence. We have both made enormous headway in recent years: I see no reason why we should not continue to make headway. Certainly, both in this country and in my own country, there are more people than ever before in our history enjoying such happiness as material things can bring.

My other thought is that in dedicating one of the most beautiful houses in England to this new use, we are not, in fact, engaged on a wholly novel enterprise. The use the Foundation will now make of these premises is not far removed in its purpose from that at the religious Houses of Retreat which became systematized in the 16th Century. Here at Ditchley there is to be, as I understand it, a center for secular retreats. Influential men and women will come here to exchange ideas with special reference to the eradication of anti-bodies in the pulsing, ever-moving Anglo-American bloodstream.

To make its fullest contribution, the secular retreat of today should refresh the active minds and the driving spirits of persons whose normal place is in the van of attack. If this retreat is to be successful, it should operate for the benefit of forward-moving men and women of vision who will come here to be refreshed and strengthened in their purpose. This retreat should back up and support those who fight in the front lines: There are other places for those who lead, or who have lead, advances to the rear.

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Permit me to congratulate you, Sir John, and you, Sir Roger, as well as all those who have worked with you, for your important roles in bringing into being this very vital institution. Our profound thanks are due to Mr. Wills who is in the true and ancient sense of the word our benefactor. Our debt to Mr. Wills is great.

MINUTES OF INFORMAL CONFERENCEON ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONSHELD AT DITCHLEY PARK ON APRIL 28th, 1962.Present:- Council and Governors.

Sir John Wheeler Bennett (Chairman).
 Lord Inchyra.
 Sir Roger Makins.
 Sir Harold Caccia.
 Sir John Masterman.
 Mr. Anthony Gray.
 Mr. J.B. Schuster.
 Mr. H.D.H. Wills.
 Mr. Arthur H. Elliot.

American Advisory Council.

Dr. J.E. Wallace Sterling.
 Mr. James Leet.
 Mr. C.E. Saltzman.
 Mr. T.C. Blaisdell.

Mr. H.V. Hodson (Provost).

In attendance:-

Captain R.P.S. Grant (Secretary).
 Miss W. Gore (Assistant Secretary).

The Chairman opened the conference by congratulating the Provost on his lecture. He emphasized the condition indicated by Mr. Lewis Jones that discussions should centre round points of difference. The Ditchley Foundation must be careful not to get the reputation of preaching to the converted - it was the unconverted, critical and even hostile whom we must try to win over. He then asked Sir Roger Makins if he would open the discussion.

Sir Roger Makins congratulated the Provost on his lecture which he hoped would become the first of the Ditchley papers. He thought it was an excellent idea to begin a series of papers which should be given as wide a circulation as was appropriate. With regard to the lecture itself he suggested that the following points needed further discussion:-
 (a) Colonialism - he agreed with what the Provost had said on this subject, but thought that the co-ordination of Anglo-American policy could prove difficult. He had been amused to see in an American newspaper, for instance, that Britain had been attacked for giving up British Guiana prematurely. Many Americans understood the problem of British colonialism intellectually, although emotionally they distrusted it. This prevented the intellectual appreciation being translated into political action.

(b) Isolationism - he felt that the Provost's point that the racial origins of the United States population had a bearing on this was debatable. He did not feel that racial origins really affected policy. There was the economic counterpart of isolationism which had not been mentioned in the lecture, but which to his mind was extremely important as a source of Anglo-American friction. Such things as flag discrimination, navigational aids for aircraft and arms to Germany were instances of the way in which American domestic interests had prevailed over objective analysis to the detriment of Britain. In the general field of trade policy there was considerable scope for uninhibited and unofficial discussion. He felt that our probable entry into the Common Market would accentuate difficulties in the economic field between the two countries and would impose a strain on Anglo-American-Commonwealth relations, particularly with regard to the import of manufactured goods from undeveloped areas. He felt that this had been "played down" and was more dangerous than many people imagined. "The United States of Europe" project ran directly counter to United States economic interests. It was in his view a suitable subject for the Foundation to consider with some urgency and he suggested that economists and businessmen from both countries should be brought together to do so.

(c). Psychological. In the past there had been anti-British feeling in America as a result of British international policies, but this resentment had been transferred across the Atlantic with the change of the balance of power which had taken place since the war. The chip on American shoulders had been transferred to our own. As a nation we had not grown used to the need to play a lesser part in world affairs and public jealousy of American leadership, although unjustified, was a fact which had to be faced. It seemed to him that this could be made worse if we went into Europe and he suggested it was one of the aims of the Foundation to see how best to provide a counter.

The Chairman thanked Sir Roger Makins for his valuable contribution. With regard to the second point, he said that before the war it was, he thought, true that the German element of the American population were thoroughly anti-Nazi while those of other European origins on the allied side were prepared to intervene in the war before the majority of the American public. They had, in fact, lead the climate of opinion towards intervention. He then called on Dr. Wallace Sterling for his observations.

Dr. Wallace Sterling said that he felt it was no longer generally considered that when Columbus discovered America he had gone too far. He then took up the points made by Sir Roger Makins and commented as follows:-
The Colonial problem as viewed from the United States was affected by their own minority and colour problems. In the main it was a non-official rather than an official attitude.

(b). Isolationism. The Americans preferred to be isolationists emotionally, but appreciated intellectually that it was no longer a realistic policy. It had taken a long time for the American public to accept the necessity

of giving up isolationism. He thoroughly agreed with the point made in the Provost's lecture that it was people in the long run who formed policy. He suggested that the Foundation should address itself in particular to influencing people - this would in turn lead to influencing policy. He said that the Common Market was viewed in America as a potential buffer against communism, but there was a confusion of thought here as it was also popularly believed to be against American economic interests. Britain's attempt to join the Common Market was regarded in America as making a virtue out of a necessity. Britain had not been the leaders and this had detracted in American opinion from the pre-conceived view of British influence being predominant in Europe. Americans had found it difficult to understand the British change of heart.

(c). Economic. The American Foreign Aid programme was commonly known as the "give away" programme. It was extremely unpopular with the American public and there was a general feeling that now that Europe had grown in economic strength a greater share of the economic burden should be transferred to European shoulders. He then returned to the subject of people and re-emphasized that Ditchley should give real attention to this. He agreed with what the Provost had said in his lecture about Americans being joiners, while the British belonged. Nevertheless the Americans wanted tremendously to belong as well. He quoted Lord Elton's remark that Americans must break through the surface ice of British reserve to observe how very cold the water is underneath.

The Chairman thanked Dr. Wallace Sterling and drew attention to one aspect of the Provost's lecture which had not yet been discussed - namely the ignorance of each other's countries. He felt that it should be dealt with at Ditchley indirectly, if not directly. Education was the way to eradicate ignorance.

Dr. Wallace Sterling signified his agreement with the Chairman's remarks and emphasized that we should regard each other as foreign countries. This had been so well expressed in John Buchan's book "Memory Holds the Door".

Mr. A.H. Elliot remarked that America took far more trouble to understand the British than Britain did to understand America. Schools over here did not attempt to teach American history or even geography in their curricula. He felt that Ditchley should further Anglo-American understanding by the education of youth.

The Provost remarked that the Foundation was planning a conference early next year on the teaching of American history in Britain. A conference in October had also been planned on the teaching of world history which would be attended by a group of H.M. Inspectors of Schools. We could learn a lot from Americans - our history teaching at school was almost entirely insular and there was a great ignorance of American history.

Mr. A.H. Elliot said that in this context much more advantage should be taken of the Fulbright exchange. Over 3,000 from Britain had come over to America under this scheme and we should capitalize on their experience.

Dr. Wallace Sterling also mentioned that since 1953 the exchange visits of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of Universities had been of tremendous importance. There was a lot more to do, but although this exchange had only taken place over the last nine years, it showed much promise.

The Chairman then called on Lord Inchyra for his comments.

Lord Inchyra said that he would like to revert to a point made by Sir Roger Makins concerning the "transfer of the chip". Many people in Britain still thought in terms of 1941-42 and wrongly felt that America could not do without us. With regard to the Common Market he pointed out that the Americans must take into account French and German views equally with British. He then listed a number of topics of potential dispute. Defence generally - such things as East West trade - relations with China and the Far East. He felt that Ditchley should consider these practical questions.

The Chairman thanked Lord Inchyra and suggested that Constantine Gibbon's book "When the Kissing had to Stop" should be compulsory reading at Ditchley. It dealt with what might happen if Britain had an anti-American government in power. He then asked Mr. C.E. Saltzman for his comments.

Mr. C.E. Saltzman said that a lack of understanding in foreign policy issues was apt to set the pace in hardening of attitudes. He gave as instances divergent policies on Suez, Cuba and China. He asked it if was too ambitious for Ditchley to facilitate an examination of the policies each country pursued and where they diverged, to disseminate the reasons thus helping to cement a better understanding. He gave warning however that the Americans were diffident about committing themselves.

The Chairman then asked Sir Harold Caccia for his observations.

Sir Harold Caccia said that he was somewhat sceptical as to whether Britain joining the Common Market would impose an added strain to Anglo-American relations. Britain had not been the spokesman for Europe - at least since the days of Ernest Bevin and Marshall aid. He did not think that, for instance, Franco-American relations had changed through France's joining the Common Market. Relations would remain bilateral. He agreed however, that Ditchley should consider the effect of our joining the Common Market in the reasonably near future.

On Colonialism Sir Harold felt that Ditchley should consider this matter urgently because although it was perhaps a transient phase, it was important that Americans should understand our problems. In colonies with European settlers the problems were far greater than where there were no European settlers and this needed to be understood in America.

Psychological. He agreed that the unjustified resentment of American leadership was a growing malady in this country - education of the British people was the remedy. There had been, he felt, a misreading of past history. It had been a long time since Britain had had any

commanding say in world affairs. He gave as instances policies of European states in the past century which had been against our interests, but which we had been powerless to prevent although we were then a dominant power. He also called attention to the change of the use and exercise of power since 1945 and the attenuated relationship between a nation's power and its ability to get what it wants. America's overwhelming military power had been unable to prevent Cuba becoming a Communist outpost although it was clearly against American interests that this should happen. Similarly Russian power had not been able to prevent Albania diverging from the Soviet orbit. It was necessary to educate the public in what power could do. The change in our relative positions could only point a finger to what could be done internally. We should consider how we could expand jointly the rule of law and order.

Dr. Wallace Sterling asked what were the manifestations in Britain of resentment against American leadership. He appreciated that anti-nuclear demonstrations might be regarded as one manifestation, but did this really amount to much?

Sir Roger Makins said that in his view it was a pervasive feeling - one could sense it in conversation with people anywhere rather than give it substance.

Lord Inchyra said that there was a feeling in Britain that the American government was more irresponsible than ours. This was instanced by the finger on the trigger type of publicity.

Sir Roger Makins said that perhaps thirty years ago the same sort of feeling had been common in the United States - briefly it may have been a fear that Britain could get America into trouble against its wishes.

The Chairman gave as an instance a feeling held by many people that Britain was just an advanced air strip for the United States and was regarded by America as being expendable.

Dr. Wallace Sterling said that it was important to pin-point the various facets of anti-American feeling and diagnose them. He asked whether the anti-H bomb demonstrations, for instance, had any affect on the policy of the British government.

Sir Roger Makins said that historically there had been a pacifist element in this country for many years. Its aims were not however, concerted and certainly had no influence on British Government policy. It was an amalgam of the discontented; people used this type of demonstration as an expression of their discontent - the H bomb was just a rallying point.

Mr. Anthony Gray pointed out that it was easier to protest against the American bomb than it was against the Russian bomb.

Sir Roger Makins said he agreed and pointed out that in the United Nations there had been considerable evidence of this double standard amongst neutral nations.

Mr. T.C. Blaisdell suggested that there were two areas where discussions would be useful. The first of these was European-American relationships. There should be a well understood way of approaching common problems. He suggested that we should follow the example of the O.E.E.C. mutual aid programme which devised a plan of operation which looked ahead for five years. The development of this plan was considered in a series of annual reports. This was basically a good tool if we made proper use of it. He felt that influential non-official thought frequently lead to government action. As an instance of this he said that in America the revolution of official strategic thinking had mainly stemmed from unofficial initiative. The second area which he felt deserved consideration was the economic problem which perhaps could be exemplified by the problem of the key currencies. Sterling and dollars had an important effect on the international picture and also on the Commonwealth relationship. We should examine problems quantitatively as well as qualitatively. A close look at the detail was the best way to work things out. To summarize he felt that the annual review approach was the right one, and that it was important to make known the plan and its development to the public at large.

The Chairman then asked Mr. James Leet for his comments.

Mr. James Leet said that the mass media of communication such as television moulded public opinion and Ditchley should consider how best to make use of this medium. In America government pressure was being brought on the television companies to improve the standard of their programmes. Newspapers were also of course an important element in forming public opinion and should not be neglected.

The Provost pointed out that we were planning to hold a conference in early 1963 on the use of television to present images of Britain and America; it had not been possible for this conference to take place until the Pilkington committee had reported and public policy on the future of BBC and ITV had been settled.

The Chairman then asked Sir John Masterman for his comments.

Sir John Masterman said that he would like to make two points. Firstly he referred to Dr. Wallace Sterling's remarks on the visits of the Vice-Chancellors to America - he had himself taken part in the 1957 visit and could say from personal experience how much had been gained by the British members. He suggested that more visits should be organized at different levels. Secondly he would like to say from his experience as an adviser on television educational policy to an independent company that tremendous possibilities lie in this medium. It was obvious that the differences between BBC and ITV should be resolved as soon as possible.

The Provost mentioned confidentially that a private conference on the educational use of television was taking place at Ditchley in a fortnight's time under the sponsorship of

the Fulbright commission, but that this should not be publicised.

The Chairman then thanked all who had taken part in this interesting discussion and closed the meeting.

August, 1974 (Updated)

-APRIL-1970.

THOMAS CHARLES BLAISDELL, JR.

Appendix V a

Born: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, December 2, 1895; Married, Cath rine Maltby. One son, Thomas.

Education:

- 1912-1913: Alma College, Michigan.
- 1913-1914: Königstädtische Oberrealschule, Berlin.
- 1914-1915: Alma College, Michigan.
- 1916: B.A., Pennsylvania State College.
- 1922: Graduate New York School of Social Work.
M.A., Columbia University.
- 1932: Ph.D., Columbia University.

Professional Career:

- 1916-1919: History teacher, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad University, U.P., India.
- 1919-1920: Traveling secretary Student Volunteer Movement.
- 1922-1925: Industrial social work, International Committee, Y.M.C.A., and teacher sociology and economics, Yenching University, Peking.
- 1925-1933: Teacher Economics, Columbia University.
- 1933-1934: Assistant Director Consumers Counsel, Agricultural Adjustment Administration.
- 1934-1935: Executive Director Consumers Advisory Board, NRA.
- 1935-1936: Economic advisor to Administrator Resettlement Administration.
- 1936-1938: Assistant Director, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board.
- 1938-1939: Director monopoly study Securities and Exchange Committee.
- 1939-1943: Assistant Director National Resources Planning Board.
- 1942-1943: Also Chairman Industrial Committee of same; member planning committee War Production Board.
- 1943-1944: Director Orders and Regulations Bureau.
- 10-12 1944: Director Bureau of Plans and Statistics, Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.
- 1945-1946: Chief, mission for economic affairs, with rank of minister, London, England.
- 1947-1949: Director Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce.
- 1949-1951: Assistant Secretary of Commerce.
- 1951-1963: Professor of Political Science.
- 1951: Director Bureau of International Relations.
- 1952: Director International Conference on Agriculture and Cooperative Credit, Berkeley, California.
- 1952: Consultant to Chairman Technical Assistance Board of United Nations.
- 1962: Consultant, Ford Foundation (Development of Indonesian Public Administration Program)
- 1963: Professor Emeritus, July 1, 1963--(Recalled to Active Service 1964-67, Spring 1970) (1970-71) (1971-1972)
- 1972-73 Associate Director, IIS (with World Affairs Council of Northern California organized Conference on Energy Crisis, April 1973)

THOMAS CHARLES BLAISDELL, JR.

1966: Chairman, Appraisal Committee for Technical Assistance Committee, United Nations (Field survey in Thailand).

1967: Consultant, Research Division, Social Security Board, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Fall 1967.

1968: Visiting Professor of Political Science, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y., Spring Semester.

Committee Service: 1962-1963

Member, University Committee on Faculty Exchanges.

Member, Chancellor's Committee on Regents' Professorships and Lectureships.

Treasurer, Board of Directors, International House.

Chairman, Committee on Audit, International House.

Member, Committee on Trustees of the International House Retirement System.

Member, Executive Committee, Political Science Department.

Member, Curriculum Committee, Political Science Department.

Member, Graduate Studies Committee, Political Science Department.

Chairman, Committee for Recruitment of International Relations Specialist in Problems of Military Strategy and Strategic Theory, Political Science Department.

Member, Operating Committee, Institute of International Studies.

Member, War/Peace Research Development Seminar, Institute of International Studies.

Member, Advisory Committee to the Center for Slavic and East European Studies.

Member, Speakers Coordination Committee, ASUC.

Member, Nominating Board for United Nations Internships.

Member, Nominating Committee for California Congress of Parents and Teachers International Relations Fellowships.

Peace Corps Campus Liaison Officer.

Consultative or similar services:

Member, Executive Committee, Operation Understanding, Stiles Hall.

Member, Personnel Committee, Stiles Hall.

Member, General Budget Committee, United Bay Area Crusade.

Member, San Francisco Committee on Foreign Relations.

Member, Board of Trustees, World Affairs Council of Northern California.

Member, West Coast Foreign Trade Group.

Member, Committee on Leaders and Specialists, American Council on Education.

Member, National Council, National Planning Association.

Member, American Advisory Board, Ditchley Foundation.

Member, Board of Directors, Harry S. Truman Library Institute.

Consultant to the Ford Foundation on Public Administration program in Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia, Djakarta, Indonesia, June-August, 1962.

Co-Principal Investigator for Indonesian Public Economic Administration Project.

THOMAS CHARLES BLAISDELL, JR.

Lectures or Forums:

Truman Catledge Interview, World Affairs Council Broadcast, KNBC.

Wrote an Introduction to the Volume entitled International Trade Statistics, edited by R.G.D. Allen and J. Edward Ely, U.D. Census Department of Commerce. This volume was published in the fall of 1953 by John Wiley & Sons, New York and Chapman and Hall, Ltd., London.

Served as a member of a group of internationally known economists which met at the Merrill Center for Economics of Amherst College at Southhampton, Long Island, during the summer of 1953. The topic under discussion was "Problems Facing the United States as a Result of the Present International Economic Situation." The Results of the Conference will be published later in this year.

In bringing to a close the work of the International Conference on Agricultural and Cooperative Credit, held in Berkeley during the summer of 1952, for which Professor Blaisdell served as Director, the following volumes were published during 1952 and 1953:

a) "Proceedings of the International Conference on Agricultural and Cooperative Credit," Volumes I and II. (Published also in French and Spanish.)

b) "Selected Readings in Agricultural Credit," Edited by Irving F. Davis, Jr.

c) "Organizing an International Conference," Edited by Elizabeth K. Bauer, Executive Secretary.

d) "Farm Credit in Underdeveloped Areas, the Summary Report of the Conference on Agricultural and Cooperative Credit," by Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., Elizabeth K. Bauer, Henry E. Erdman and Irving F. Davis, Jr.

Served as chairman of the International Relations section of the Program Committee of the American Political Science Association for the annual meeting in Washington, D.C., in September 1953. Mr. Blaisdell also presided at two of the round-table discussions at the annual meeting.

Served as Program Chairman of the Annual Conference of the World Affairs Council of Northern California, held at Asilomar, California, October 1953.

1956-1957: Administrative Committees:

Executive Secretary of the Committee on International Studies.

Chairman, Sub-committee on Curriculum of the Committee on International Studies.

College, Departmental or other University Committees:

Chairman, UC Campus Crusade.

Member of Sub-committee on Government Documents and Public Law Work Room.

Member of Faculty appointment committee (Ghiselli, Chairman - March 1957).

Chairman, Nomination Board for California Congress of Parents and Teachers Fellowship.

THOMAS CHARLES BLAISDELL, JR.

Member, Board of Trustees - International House.

Member, South Asia Studies Committee of the Institute of East Asiatic Studies.

Chairman, Promotion Committee, March 1957.

Member, Promotion Committee - Parsons, Chairman, November 1956.

Member of Advisory Board, Institute of East Asiatic Studies.

Member of Library Building Space Sub-committee of the BCD committee.

Special Appointments:

Director of the Bureau of International Relations.

Graduate Adviser for International Relations.

Professional Activities:

Consultative or similar service to civic, state or national governmental agencies:

- a. Member of Board of Trustees - Stiles Hall.
- b. Member of Council on Foreign Relations.
- c. Member of Board of Directors, Institute of World Affairs.
- d. Member of Board of Trustees - World Affairs Council.
- e. Member of San Francisco Committee on Foreign Relations.
- f. Member of World University Service Advisory Committee.
- g. Member, Bank of America - Economic Discussion Group.

Participation in lectures or forums:

"World of 1980," - World Affairs Council - 1/9/57.

"The Tools of Diplomacy," - US Naval Post Graduate School, Monterey 3/6/57.

4-H All-Star Conference - 4/17/57.

"University of California Overseas," - 11/6/56.

"Neutralism: Foreign Policy Dilemma," - 9/28/56.

"University Education Under Technical Assistance Contracts," United Board for Christian Higher Education - 12/3/56.

"U.S. Foreign Policy and World Tensions Abroad," Congregational Church, 10/31/56.

"India's Five-Year Plan," - Delta Phi Epsilon, 3/57.

"Conversations in Academic Freedom," 4/57.

1957-1958: Committee Service:

Committee on International Studies, Executive Secretary.

Chairman, Sub-committee on Curriculum of the Committee on International Studies.

Member of Advisory Committee, U.C. Campus Crusade.

Member of Sub-committee on Government Documents and Public Law Work Room.

Member of Faculty Appointment Committee (Levenson, Chairman-Dec. 1957)

Member, Board of Trustees - International House.

Member of Library Building Space Sub-committee of the BCD committee.

Member of Executive Committee of Institute of International Studies.

Member of Departmental Committees: PS Personnel and 120A Comms.

THOMAS CHARLES BLAISDELL, JR.

Special Appointments:

Director of Bureau of International Relations.
Graduate Adviser for International Relations.

Consultative or similar service:

Member of Board of Trustees - Stiles Hall.
Member of Council of Foreign Relations.
Member of Board of Directors, Institute of World Affairs.
Member of Board of Trustees - World Affairs Council.
Member of World University Service Advisory Committee.
Member of San Francisco Committee on Foreign Relations.
Member, Bank of America - Economic Discussion Group.
Director of American Assembly's "Western Regional Conference on Foreign Aid," on Berkeley Campus, September, 1957.
Member of Board of Directors of Institute for National and International Affairs of the Harry S. Truman Library.

Service to the staff or editorial Boards:

Member, Board of Editors, Western Political Quarterly.

1960-1961: Committee Service:

Member, Subcommittee on Government Documents and Public Law Workroom.
Executive Secretary, Committee on International Studies.
Member, Special Committee to Advise the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants.
Chairman, Committee on Rotating Professorships.
Member, Committee on Exchange Relations with Russian Universities.
Member, Selection Committee, Russian Faculty Exchange Program.
Member, Board of Directors, International House.
Member, Finance Committee, International House.
Member, Pension Trust Plan Committee, International House.
Member, Committee on Foreign Students.
Member, Advisory Committee, UC Campus Crusade.
Member, Budget Committee, UC Campus Crusade.
Member, Political Science Executive Committee.
Member, Political Science Graduate Committee.
Member, Political Science Space Committee.
Member, Promotion Committee.
Member, United Nations Internate Nominating Board
Member, International Relations Fellowships Nominating Board.
Member, California Congress of Parents and Teachers Fellowships Nominating Committee.
Faculty Advisor, Delta Phi Epsilon, Foreign Service Fraternity.

Special Appointments:

Executive Secretary, Institute of International Studies.
Director, Bureau of International Relations.
Graduate Adviser in International Relations.
Acting Chairman, Center for Slavic and East European Studies.

THOMAS CHARLES BLAISDELL, JR.

Consultative or similar services:

Member, Advisory Board, Stiles Hall.
 Member, Personnel Committee, Stiles Hall.
 Member, San Francisco Committee on Foreign Relations.
 Member, Bank of America Economics Discussion Group.
 Member, Board of Trustees, World Affairs Council.
 Member, Conference Committee, World Affairs Council.
 Member, West Coast Foreign Trade Group.
 Member, Board of Directors, Institute of World Affairs.
 Member, American Friends of the Middle East.
 Member, National Planning Association.
 Member, American Advisory Board, Ditchley Foundation.
 Member, Board of Directors, Harry S. Truman Library Institute.

Lectures or forums:

World Affairs Council Conference - Panel Chairman.
 World Affairs Council Meeting - Free Trade Speech.
 National War College - speech on The National Economy and International Economics.
 Sacramento State College - speech on The United Nations in the Sixties.
 ASUC - Conversation leader on "Are Elections a Farce?"

Membership in Professional Associations:

Western PSA, APSA, Int'l PSA, Int'l Studies Association.

Committees, Special Appointments, Lectures, Professional Activities:

1950-1951: Department of Political Science Curriculum Committee.
 International House Committee for Ford Foundation Appeal.
 World Affairs Council of Northern California, Executive Committee.

Special Assignments in Washington, D.C. and Paris, France,
 as Consultant to the Administrator, Economic Cooperation Administration.
 Chairman of Conference Planning Committee for Conference on
 American Foreign Policy at International House, sponsored by World
 Affairs Council, Teaching Institute of Economics and Department of
 State, (April).

Membership in Phi Kappa Phi and APSA.

Lectures and/or Forums:

Oakland World Trade Club at International House, Berkeley "World Trade
 in a Tight Economy," May 25, 1951.
 Mills College, Oakland, "What can Economic Aid do in the International
 Situation?", May 21, 1951.
 U.C. TV Series, KRON-TV, "Why World Trade," May 14, 1951.
 Second Annual Conference of Student World Affairs Council at Asilomar,
 "The Problems Before Us," May 11, 1951, and "The Problems and Future
 of Mutual Assistance in the West," May 12, 1951.
 Memorial Service, Anniversary of the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt,
 Berkeley Campus, April 12, 1951.
 San Francisco Chamber of Commerce - Annual Pan American Day Observance,
 "The Dynamic Americas," April 11, 1951.

International House Spring Conference, Berkeley, "Is the ECA Running Europe,?" April 6, 1951.

World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco, "The World Shortage in Raw Materials," March 20, 1951, in connection with visit of John Sherman Cooper, both Mr. Blaisdell and Mr. Cooper addressed this meeting.

World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco, "The Strategy of Raw Materials and the Current Crisis." February 14, 1951.

1952-1953: Served as one of four persons to review the technical assistance program of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board. This involved recommendations on the allocations of \$25 million for technical assistance programs throughout the world. The other three persons who served with Mr. Blaisdell were Sir Gerald Clausen, retired Civil Servant from the British Colonial Office; U Lwa Maung, member of the Planning Board of the Burmese Government, and Senor Olanó, Engineer and businessman from the Argentine.

Prepared a confidential report for a Conference of UNESCO and the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration dealing with problems of technical development in the underdeveloped countries.

Berkeley Exchange Club - Speech on Common Market.

Berkeley First Baptist Church - Member of Panel on The Peace Corps.

Ridge House, Stiles Hall Faculty-Student Conversation Leader on California Politics.

KTVU-TV "I Want to Know", program - Interview on the Peace Corps.

Institute of International Studies staff - Speech on Common Market.

Monterey World Affairs Council - Speech on "The Commonwealth and the United States."

"Indonesia 1963," Conference - Panel member.

Faculty Spcaker, Senior Farewell University Meeting.

1963-1964: Committee Service:

Member, Chancellor's Committee on Regents' Professorships & lecture-ships.

Member, Interviewing Committee for Regents' Scholarships.

Treasurer, Board of Directors, International House.

Member, Committee on Audit, International House.

Member, Program and Public Relations Committee, International House.

Member, Public Administration Committee, Political Science Department.

Member, International Security Seminar, Institute of International Studies.

Member, ASUC Speakers Advisory Committee.

Member, Nominating Board for United Nations Internships.

Consultative or similar Services:

Member, Advisory Board, Stiles Hall.

Member, Executive Committee, Operation Understanding, Stiles Hall.

Member, Personnel Committee, Stiles Hall.

Member, General Budget Committee, United Bay Area Crusade.

Member, Speakers Staff, United Bay Area Crusade.

Member, San Francisco Committee on Foreign Relations.

THOMAS CHARLES BLAISDELL, JR.

Member, Board of Trustees, World Affairs Council of Northern California.
Member, Planning Committee, World Affairs Conference.
Member, West Coast Foreign Trade Group.
Member, Baccalaureate Programs SCAN Committee, U.S. Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey.
Member, National Council, National Planning Association.
Sponsor, The Atlantic Council.
Member, American Advisory Board, Ditchley Foundation.
Member, Board of Directors, Harry S. Truman Library Institute.
Consultant, Indonesian Public Administration Project.

1964-1965: Committee Service:

Chairman, Chancellor's Committee on Regents' Professorships and Lectureships.
Member, Interviewing Committee for Regents' Scholarships.
Administrator, United Nations Internship Program, for Graduate Division.
Treasurer, Board of Directors, International House.
Trustee, International House Retirement Program.
Chairman, Committee on Audit, International House.
Member, Nominating Committee, International House.
Member, Committee on Program and Public Relations, International House.
Member, Public Administration Committee, Department of Political Science.
Faculty, Moderator, ASUC Speakers Advisory Committee.
Member, International Security Seminar, Institute of International Studies.

Consultative or similar services:

Team Leader, United Nations Technical Assistance Evaluation Project to Thailand, June-August 1965.
Consultant, Indonesian Public Administration Project.
Member, Board of Directors, Stiles Hall.
Member, Executive Committee, Stile Hall.
Chairman, Peace Corps Committee, Stiles Hall.
Member, Personnel Committee, Stiles Hall.
Member, Qualifications Appraisal Board, San Francisco Civil Service Commission.
Member, San Francisco Committee on Foreign Relations.
Member, Board of Trustees, World Affairs Council of Northern California.
Member, Board of Directors, Harry S. Truman Library Institute.
Member, Board of Directors, Indonesian-American Society of the United States, Inc.
Member, American Advisory Board, Ditchley Foundation.
Sponsor, The Atlantic Council.

Lectures or forums:

Moderator, University Extension panel, "Politics 1964: The Democratic Nominating Convention," 7/20/64.
Resource leader, ASUC Cal Prep 1964, 9/11/64.
Speech, "Foreign Aid to the Marshall Plan," World Affairs Council, Young Adult Study Program, 9/14/64.
Panel Chairman, Institute of World Affairs, Pasadena, 12/8/64.
Speech on Vietnam, Hoyt Hall, 2/24/65.
Resource Leader, Fulbright Conference on Higher Education, Stanford University, 3/21 -24/65.

Seminar Chairman, World Affairs Conference, 5/8/65.

Membership in a Professional Association:

Member, Western Political Science Association.

Member, American Political Science Association.

Member, International Political Science Association.

Member, American Association for Asian Studies.

Graduate Advisor 1970-71

1971-72 (recalled)

THOMAS CHARLES BLAISDELL, JR.

APRIL 1970

PUBLICATIONS:Federal Trade Commission, An Experiment in Control of Business, 1932.Peking Rugs and Peking Boys (with C.C. Chu), 1924."Economics in the College," in Redirecting Education, Vol. I, ed. by Tugwell and Keyserling, Columbia University Press, 1934."Old-Age Insurance for Agricultural Workers in Western Europe," Social Security Bulletin, 1939."Investment as a National Problem," Institute of Public Affairs Addresses, 1939."Using Our National Resources," Progressive Education Association, 1941.National Income Estimates in Relation to Economic Policy, (with O.L. Altman), National Bureau of Economic Research Conference on Research In National Income and Wealth, 1941."What Should be Our Policy Regarding Economic Reconstruction of Germany?" Harvard Law School Forum, 1947."Coordination of Economic Policy," Annual Conference of the American Society for Public Administration, 1945."Our Part in the Recovery of Europe," Foreign Policy Association, 1947."The European Recovery Program - Phase Two," International Organization, September, 1948."Economic Organization of the United States for International Economic Policy," Part I, Foreign Economic Policy for the U.S. (ed. by S.E. Harris), 1948."World Trade in the Making," Conference on International Cooperation for World Development, UC, March, 1950.Farm Credit in Underdeveloped Areas (with others), 1963.Problems of Evaluating the Effectiveness of Development Measures, March, 1953."The Foreign Aid Program and United States Commercial Policy," Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science The American Foreign Aid Program, 23 (4) January 1950, p. 53-63. Asst. Sec. of Commerce.

THOMAS CHARLES BLAISDELL, JR.

June 1976

Appendix V b

Born: Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, December 2, 1895; Married, Catharine Maltby. One son, Thomas.

Education:

- 1912-1913: Alma College, Michigan.
- 1913-1914: Königstädtische Oberrealschule, Berlin.
- 1914-1915: Alma College, Michigan.
- 1916: B.A., Pennsylvania State College.
- 1922: Graduate New York School of Social Work.
M.A., Columbia University.
- 1932: Ph.D., Columbia University.

Professional Career:

- 1916-1919: History teacher, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad University, U.P., India.
- 1919-1920: Traveling secretary Student Volunteer Movement.
- 1922-1925: Industrial social work, International Committee, Y.M.C.A., and teacher sociology and economics, Yenching University, Peking.
- 1925-1933: Teacher Economics, Columbia University.
- 1933-1934: Assistant Director Consumers Counsel, Agricultural Adjustment Administration.
- 1934-1935: Executive Director Consumers Advisory Board, NRA.
- 1935-1936: Economic Advisor to Administrator Resettlement Administration.
- 1936-1938: Assistant Director, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board.
- 1938-1939: Director, Monopoly Study, Securities and Exchange Committee.
- 1939-1943: Assistant Director, National Resources Planning Board.
- 1942-1943: Also Chairman Industrial Committee of same; member planning Committee, War Production Board.
- 1943-1944: Director Orders and Regulations Bureau.
- 10-12 1944: Director Bureau of Plans and Statistics, Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.
- 1945-1946: Chief, Mission for Economic Affairs, with rank of minister, London, England.
- 1947-1949: Director Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce.
- 1949-1951: Assistant Secretary of Commerce.
- 1951 - 1963: University of California, Berkeley
Professor of Political Science
Director, Bureau of International Relations (Later, Institute of International Studies)
- 1951(Summer): On special assignment for Mutual Security Administration (U.S.G.O. in Paris and Montreal)
- 1952(Summer): Director, International Conference on Agricultural and Cooperative Credit. Held in Berkeley, CA.
Summary Report by Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr. and others.
Full Report published in English, French and Spanish.

- 1952(Winter): Adviser to Chairman, U.N. Technical Assistance Board(now U.N.D.F.)
- 1955(June to February):- Survey trip to South and South East Asia in developing the work of the Institute of International Studies; negotiation of agreements between the University of California and the University of Indonesia(Djakarta) and the Joint Committee on Rural Reconstruction (Taiwan).
- 1958(April to September): Special study in Western Europe in connection with the development of the Common Market; emphasis on Mediterranean area and Scandinavia. Consultant to Ford Foundation.
- 1961(April to September): Continuation of research in Western Europe
- 1962 Consultant to Ford Foundation concerning organization of program of training in Economics and Public Administration in Indonesia.
- 1964-1967: Professor Emeritus. Recalled to active duty. Courses taught: Public Administration (Federal Budgeting) Politics and Military Strategy
- 1965(June to September) Chairman, U.N. Committee for appraisal of U.N. Technical Assistance Program in Thailand
Report submitted to Social and Economic Council, 1966
- 1967(September - January): Special Consultant, Research Division, Social Security Administration(Washington, D.C.)
- 1968(February - June): Visiting Professor, Bard College, Annandale-on-the-Hudson, N.Y.
- 1970 - 1971: Recalled to active duty, Dept. of Political Science, University of California as Graduate Adviser (part time).
- 1972 - 1973: Recalled to active duty as Associate Director, Institute of International Studies, University of California
- 1972 (Summer): Tutor in Political Science in development program for graduate minority students.
- 1974 & 1975: Recalled to active duty, Dept. of Political Science, University of California. Conducted a Seminar with Prof. Peter Selz(History of Art) entitled, The American Presidency in Political Cartoons, 1776 - 1976. This seminar developed a Bicentennial Exhibition for the University Art Museum shown in January. It will travel during 1976 finishing at the National Portrait Gallery in November 1976. A book, which served as the catalog, was also produced.

In addition to the professional activities listed above I have participated in numerous volunteer activities. A few of them are listed below:

- Member of the National Council, National Planning Association(1930s and 40s)
- Member, American Advisory Board, Ditchley Foundation(England) 1962-65
- Member, Board of Directors (Executive Committee) World Affairs Council of Northern California, 1952-1962
- Member, Board of Directors, International House (Berkeley)(1963 - 73)
- Member, Board of Directors, Stiles Hall(Student Y.M.C.A. Berkeley)(1962-72)
- Member, Board of Directors, Harry S. Truman Library Institute for International and Social Studies (1953-)
Also Chairman of Committee for the Biennial Award of the David Lloyd Prize(for the best book dealing with the Truman Era.)

Partial List of Publications

Peking Rugs and Peking Boys (with C.C. Chu), 1924. A study of the Peking Rug Industry. Published by the Chinese Political and Economic Association

The Federal Trade Commission, An Experiment in the Control of Business. 1932.

Economics in the College, in Redirecting Education, Vol. I, ed. R.G. Tugwell and L. Keyserling, Columbia University Press, 1934

National Income Estimates in Relation to Economic Policy (with Oscar Altman), National Bureau of Economic Research Conference on National Income and Wealth, 1941.

The European Recovery Program - Phase Two, International Organization, September 1948.

Economic Organization of the U.S. for International Economic Policy, Part I. Foreign Economic Policy for the U.S. (Ed. by S.L. Harris.) 1948

Farm Credit in Underdeveloped Areas ., (with others) 1953

The American Presidency in Political Cartoons, 1776 - 1976 (with Peter Selz) - 1976

no date

Name..... THOMAS CHARLES BLAISDELL, JR.
 Citizenship..... United States
 Date of Birth..... December 2, 1895
 Place of Birth..... Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
 Height..... 5'9"
 Weight..... 150 pounds
 Physical defects or disability..... None

EDUCATION:

Alma College, Alma, Michigan, September 1912 - April 1913

Königstädtische Oberrealschule, Berlin, Germany - April 1913-June 1914

Alma College, Alma, Michigan - September 1914-June 1915

Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. - Sept. 1915-June 1916
 B.A. Degree. Premedical requirements, also major in German

New York School of Social Work and Columbia University, New York City -
 September 1920-June 1922

Received diploma of New York School of Social Work, Labor and
 Industrial Research 1922. Thesis entitled: "Unemployment Among
 Longshoremen in New York City."

M.A. Degree, Columbia University, Social History.

Thesis entitled: "Housing Legislation in Great Britain."

Theses on file in New York School of Social Work and Columbia University.

Columbia University, New York City - Ph.D. 1932. Requirements for the
 degree were completed during the period 1925-1932, while employed
 as a member of the teaching staff of Columbia University. Subjects
 offered for examination: Economic Theory, Economic History, Statistics,
 International Trade, Relationships of Law and Economics, Labor Economics
 in the Far East.

PUBLICATIONS:

1. "Housing Legislation in England" (Masters thesis) 1922.
(On file with the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University.)
2. "Peking Rugs and Peking Boys", (Subtitle: A Study of the Peking Rug Industry by C. C. Chu and T. C. Blaisdell, Jr.), Special Supplement of the Chinese Political and Social Science Review, 1924.
Available in the Congressional Library.
3. "Federal Trade Commission" (subtitle: An Experiment in the Control of Business), Columbia University Press, 1932. Available in the Congressional Library.
4. "Economics in the College", (chapters 7 and 8 of Redirecting Education, Volume I edited by R. C. Tugwell and L. H. Keyserling), Columbia University Press, 1934. Available in the Congressional Library.
5. "The Consumer Interest in Employment Policy", (subtitle: Statement at the Public Hearings on Employment Provisions in the Codes), January 1935. (The detailed work on this report was done by Paul F. Brissenden and Claire Wilcox.) Available as mimeographed report from Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
6. "Old-Age Insurance for Agricultural Workers in Western Europe", article in Social Security Bulletin, 1938.
7. "Investment as a National Problem," Institute of Public Affairs Addresses, 1939.
8. "Using Our National Resources", (address before Progressive Education Association), 1941.
9. "National Income Estimates in Relation to Economic Policy", with Oscar L. Altman, National Bureau of Economic Research Conference on Research in National Income and Wealth, 1941.
10. "Planning," (address before Alabama Conference of Social Work), Alabama Social Welfare, 1942.
11. "Can We Avoid a Post-War Depression" (article in New York Times, September 12, 1943).

- 2(a) -

Articles subsequently released for publication:

1. "What Should be Our Policy Regarding Economic Reconstruction of Germany," Harvard Law School Forum, Cambridge, Mass., October 9, 1947.
2. "Our Part in the Recovery of Europe," Foreign Policy Association of New York, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, November 22, 1947.
3. "Coordination of Economic Policy," Annual Conference of the American Society for Public Administration, March 11, 1948.
4. "The European Recovery Program - Phase Two," reprint from International Organization, September 1948.
5. "The Marshall Plan and World Trade," Export Managers' Club of Milwaukee, September 14, 1948.
6. "The Foundations of World Trade," Miami Chamber of Commerce, Miami, Fla., May 26, 1948.
7. "Economic Organization of the United States for International Economic Policy," Part I, Foreign Economic Policy for the U.S., edited by Seymour E. Harris, 1948.
8. "World Trade and the British Crisis," University of Chicago Round Table, August 14, 1949.
9. "The Foreign Aid Program and United States Commercial Policy," Academy of Political Science, Hotel Astor, New York City, November 10, 1949.
10. "The Business Outlook is What We Make It," Economic Conference on the Business Outlook, Read Hotel, Chattanooga, Tennessee, February 17, 1950.
11. "World Trade in the Making," Conference on International Cooperation for World Economic Development, University of California, March 17, 1950.
12. "A Business Approach to Consumer Standards," 29th Annual Convention of American Association of Textile Chemists and Colorists, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, September 28, 1950.

- 3 -

EXPERIENCE:

1. Place of employment.....Allahabad, U.P., India
 Dates of employment.....August 1916 - April 1919
 Name and address of employer.....Ewing Christian College, Allahabad,
 U.P., India
 Name and address of supervisor.....C.A.R. Janvier (deceased)
 Yearly Salary.....\$1200 plus living expenses and travel
 Nature of duties.....Teaching English, European & Indian
 history.

While teaching Indian history, I became interested in the problem of land tenure in India and studied the problems particularly in northern India in considerable detail. However, I neither wrote nor published anything in the field.

Reason for leaving: Completion of contract.

2. Place of employment.....New York, N. Y. (headquarters)
 Dates of employment.....June 1919 - July 1920
 Name and address of employer.....Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign
 Missions
 Name and address of supervisor.....T. S. Sharp, Black Mountain, S. C.
 Yearly Salary.....\$1800 plus living expenses and travel
 Nature of duties.....Travelling secretary; public
 addresses in colleges throughout New
 England, Middle Atlantic and Middle
 Western States.

The character of this employment was such that it gave a broad acquaintance among professional men in the academic field and also gave opportunity for the development of an ability to make contacts with a large number of people and work cooperatively with them.

Reason for leaving: Completion of contract and desire to do graduate work

3. Place of employment.....Paupack, Pennsylvania
 Dates of employment.....July to September 1921
 Name and address of employer.....Brooklyn YMCA, 55 Hanson Place,
 Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Name and address of supervisor.....A. L. Klemer, 55 Hanson Place,
 Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Salary.....\$200 per month, plus living expenses
 and travel
 Nature of duties.....Director, Camp Brooklyn

This work was administrative in character with complete responsibility for a boys' camp with an attendance of over 100.

Reason for leaving: Summer employment undertaken in order to supplement income while studying.

- 4 -

4. Place of employment.....Brooklyn, New York
 Dates of employment.....January to May 1922
 Name and address of employer.....Brooklyn YMCA, 55 Hanson Place,
 Brooklyn, New York
 Name and address of supervisor.....A. L. Klemmer, 55 Hanson Place, Brooklyn,
 Brooklyn, New York
 Salary.....\$100 per month ($\frac{1}{2}$ time)
 Nature of duties.....Supervisor of Boys' work

This was also administrative experience involving primarily the coordination of work in a number of different branches of the YMCA.

Reason for leaving: Supplemental work done while studying.

5. Place of employment.....Peking (Peiping), China
 Dates of employment.....June 1922 - June 1925
 Name and address of employer.....International Committee, YMCA and
 Yenching University (Sociology Dept.)
 Name and address of supervisor.....J. S. Burgess, Temple University,
 Philadelphia, Pa.
 Yearly Salary.....\$3600 and house and travel expenses
 Nature of duties.....In charge of industrial social work of
 Peking YMCA and teaching sociology and
 economics in Yenching University.

I was assigned by the International Committee of the YMCA to Peking, China where, with J. S. Burgess, I had responsibility for developing the social work program of the city YMCA.

At the same time I was teaching in Yenching University (the University is chartered by the Regents of the State of New York). I taught courses both in the field of social work and in economic theory. I was a member of the local committee of the International Famine Relief Committee which established the first rural credit unions in northern China.

In connection with a Chinese assistant, C. C. Chu, a study was made of the rug industry of Peking, the results of which were published by the Chinese Political and Social Science Association as a special supplement to their quarterly journal. This study was published both in Chinese and English. The work was carried on under my supervision and Mr. Chu did a large part of the enumeration on the basis of individual rug factories. The title of the publication was "Peking Rugs and Peking Boys."

Incident to all this work was a study of Chinese economic organization, particularly in connection with the development of trade unions in China and the development of the Industrial Revolution in China.

Reason for leaving: Completion of contract and interest in returning to study and work.

- 5 -

6. Place of employment.....New York, N. Y.
 Dates of employment.....July 1925 - July 1936 (on leave
 July 1933 to July 1936)
 Name of employer.....Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
 (a) Columbia College, (b) Summer
 Session, (c) Seth Low Junior College.
 Name and address of supervisor.....W.E. Weld, Pres., Wells College,
 Aurora, N. Y., R. G. Tugwell,
 University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Yearly salary.....Approximately \$3600 to \$5800
 Nature of duties.....Teaching; courses in Contemporary
 Civilization, Principles of Economics,
 Economic Theory, History of Economic
 Theory, Industrial Organization,
 International Economic Organization.

I became instructor in Columbia University in the Economics Department in 1925. While at Columbia, I taught a number of different courses. The basic course for all of the social studies at Columbia College is entitled "Contemporary Civilization". This course lays the groundwork in Philosophy, Social History, Economic History and Industrial Organization for all future studies in the social sciences in Columbia College. When I went to Columbia, this was a one-year course, but later was developed into a two-year course replacing the usual course in Principles of Economics given in most colleges. I was one of the group of staff members who had the primary responsibility for the development of the syllabus for the second year course. At various times in the Columbia Summer Session, in Columbia University Extension, in Seth Low Junior College, and American Institute of Banking, as well as in Columbia College, I gave a number of different courses, including Principles of Economics, Economic Organization of the United States, Economic Theory, the History of Economic Theory, and International Economic Organization. In all of these courses with the exception of the elementary courses, I had experience in directing the study of students in the preparation of various reports and papers.

While engaged in teaching, I also completed the work for my doctor's degree in economics. Incident to the preparation of my dissertation which was published as "Federal Trade Commission," a broad character of research was necessary since this book reviewed the work of the Federal Trade Commission not from the administrative standpoint but from the standpoint of the Commission's analysis of a large number of American industries.

Reason for leaving: From July, 1933, I was on leave of absence for two years at which time I resigned because I had become interested in continuing work in the federal government.

7. Place of employment.....Washington, D.C.
Dates of employment.....July 1933 - September 1933
September 1933 - February 1934
Name and address of employer.....Consumers Counsel, Agricultural
Adjustment Administration
Name of Supervisor.....F. C. Howe, Director (deceased)
Salary.....\$300 per month; and \$6800 yearly
Nature of Duties.....Assistant to the Director; in charge
of review and analysis of marketing
agreements; Assistant Director in
charge of all research on problems
affecting the consumer under AAA.

I came to Washington in July 1933 when the Agricultural Adjustment Administration was being organized and accepted a temporary position in the office of the Consumers' Counsel. I assisted Dr. F. C. Howe, Consumers' Counsel, in the establishment and organization of this work in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and in October assumed the duties of Assistant Director of the Consumers' Counsel. In carrying out the work of this division, a new type of approach to the particular problem was necessary. This was the study of the effect of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's program on consumers. While taking part in the development of the general program, I had entire responsibility for the work of that part of the staff engaged in the analysis of marketing agreements and industrial codes affecting marketing of agricultural products. This involved the supervision of the work of from twelve to fifteen economists. This work also involved negotiations with representatives of various trade associations and wide contacts throughout the Government.

Reason for leaving: To transfer to the related work of International Recovery Administration as Executive Director, Consumers' Advisory Board.

8. Place of employment.....Washington, D.C.
Dates of employment.....October 1934 - February 1935
Name and address of employer.....Consumers' Advisory Board, National
Recovery Administration
Name and address of supervisor.....Mrs. M. H. Rumsey (deceased);
Mrs. Emily Newell Blair
Yearly Salary.....Salary paid through AAA
Nature of duties.....Executive Director, Consumers'
Advisory Board; Supervision of staff
and final responsibility in all re-
search bearing on codes under NRA from
standpoint of Consumers' Advisory Board.

I was assigned by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to the National Recovery Administration where I acted as Executive Secretary of the Consumers' Advisory Board. The work of this Board involved the review of all codes approved by the National Recovery Administration from the standpoint of the consumer. I had the complete responsibility both from the standpoint of administration and policy for a staff of approximately fifty analysts. The character of the work of the Consumers' Advisory Board and my part in it is best covered by reference to my testimony before the Committee on Finance, U. S. Senate, 74th Congress, First Session. This material is in Part 3 of the published hearings (testimony of March 28, 29, and April 1, 1935).

Reason for leaving: To accept special assignment with the National Emergency Council pending reorganization of work of the NRA.

- From February 1935 to June 1935 I was Director of the Consumers Division of the National Emergency Council. In this connection I prepared a special confidential report of the National Emergency Council on the organization of the consumer agencies of the Federal Government. I also had the responsibility for the direction of a small group of research workers, five in number. The principal additional activity of this agency before it was discontinued in June 1935 was the direction of the work of approximately 50 Consumers Councils located throughout the United States.

10. Place of employment.....Washington, D. C.
 Dates of employment.....October 1934 - June 1935
 Name and address of employer.....Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.
 Name of supervisor.....E. G. Nourse
 Salary.....\$900 (2 hrs. per week for 8 months)
 Nature of duties.....Seminar in Problems of Agricultural
 Adjustment

Reason for leaving: This was special night work undertaken on contract basis. Contract was completed.

- In June 1935 I became Director of Research of the Planning Division of the Resettlement Administration. This work involved the direction of a research staff of approximately 25 people. The range of problems was broad, including

Reason for leaving: The reorganization of the work terminated this position, and I transferred to another position in the Resettlement Administration.

- Reason for leaving: Resigned to accept position as Assistant Director, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board.

- Reason for leaving: Was on loan to the National Resources Committee for special assignment. Later resigned to accept special appointment with Securities and Exchange Commission.

- 9 -

14. Place of employment.....Washington, D. C.
 Dates of employment.....May 1937 to July 1, 1938
 Name of employer.....National Resources Committee
 Name of supervisor.....Frederic A. Delano, Chairman, Advisory
 Committee
 Yearly Salary.....On reimbursable loan from Social Security
 Nature of duties.....Consultant to Committee

I was directly responsible for the organization, development and completion of a study for the National Resources Committee dealing with the major problems of the construction industry in relation to housing. As a result of this study, a series of monographs were prepared. Three of these monographs have been released, and a summary monograph was later released. In addition, various short studies leading to policy memoranda were carried through. These studies were intended to indicate the relationships between the various parts of the Federal Government programs in relation to economics and business activity.

Reason for leaving: Completion of assignment.

15. Place of employment.....Washington, D. C.
 Dates of employmentJuly 1, 1938 to June 1939
 Name of employer.....Securities & Exchange Commission
 Name of supervisor.....Jerome Frank, Chairman
 Yearly Salary.....\$7000
 Nature of duties.....Director, Monopoly Study

I had responsibility for carrying through the Securities & Exchange Commission's part of the agenda for the Temporary National Economic Committee. This included the direction of a study of the insurance industry, an industry with 26 billions of assets; the direction of a study of the capital markets, including the function of the investment banking industry; and the direction of a study of various devices used by corporations for establishing industrial control. All of this work involved the planning of the program, hiring of staff, making decisions regarding the character of public hearings, and the planning of reports.

Reason for leaving: Completion of assignment and desire to accept additional responsibilities with National Resources Planning Board.

16. Place of employment.....Washington, D. C.
 Dates of employment.....June 1939 to June 1943
 Name of employer.....National Resources Planning Board.
 Name of supervisor.....Frederic A. Delano, Chairman
 Yearly Salary.....\$8000
 Nature of duties.....Assistant Director in charge of
 Employment Stabilization, Youth,
 Relief, Science problems.

As chief of the Division of Research of the National Resources Planning Board, I had responsibility for outlining plans for the research program of the Board, correlating and coordinating their studies. When the Board was reorganized in 1940, I was made Assistant Director in charge of reporting economic and business trends and economic stabilization.

Reason for leaving: First on reimbursable assignment to War Production Board and later to transfer for full-time appointment with War Production Board.

- Soon after Mr. Nelson was appointed Chairman of the War Production Board, he set up a Planning Committee consisting of three members. I was named a member of this group in February of 1942. The function of the Committee was to advise Mr. Nelson on general policies for efficient war production. The Committee considered such problems as the adjustment of military and essential civilian programs, establishment of mechanisms for the control of the flow of materials, the use of scheduling as a technique of national production control as well as production control within a given factory, and the significance of invention and research in our productive scheme. In addition to Committee consideration of these broad problems, I was concerned at various times with specific problems affecting war production: development of the synthetic rubber program, problems of the transportation system, use of petroleum resources, and problems of industrial health and hygiene.

18. Place of employment.....Washington, D. C.
Dates of employment.....July 1943 to Oct. 1, 1944
Name of employer.....War Production Board
Name of supervisor.....J. A. Krug, Vice Chairman of WPB;
S. W. Anderson, Vice Chairman of WPB
Yearly Salary.....\$8500
Nature of duties.....Director of Bureau of Orders & Regula-
tions

Reason for leaving: Staff readjustments within War Production Board.

- 11 -

19. Place of employment.....Washington, D. C.
 Dates of employment.....Oct. 2, 1944 to Jan. 3, 1945
 Name of employer.....War Production Board
 Name of supervisor.....J. A. Krug, Chairman, WPB
 Yearly Salary.....\$8500
 Nature of duties.....Assoc. Director, Bureau of Program &
 Statistics.

I was appointed Associate Director of the Bureau in October 1944. The Director, Mr. May, resigned as of this date and the appointment as Associate Director was made rather than duplicating the office of Director until the termination of Mr. May's annual leave. In reality I was Director of the Bureau. The functions of the Bureau included:

- (1) The overall planning of the magnitude of the war effort in relation to the total economy.
- (2) The supervision and control of all statistical work carried on in the Board, including cooperative arrangements with the various Industry Divisions on the detailed work carried out in the Divisions.
- (3) The Maintenance of the General Research Staff assigned to the development of materials and production programs. (This staff also served the Program Bureau.)
- (4) The maintenance of contact with the armed services in order to keep the official munitions production record for the United States.
- (5) The review and recommendation to the Budget Bureau of all statistical collections to be instituted for the use of the War Production Board, and the supervision of special funds to be used for wartime research by other Government agencies.
- (6) The preparation of reports on the progress of the war and the developments within the domestic economy for the use of the WPB and other Government agencies and occasionally for publication. Most of this work was of a confidential or secret nature, hence not available for public distribution. This included the document, War Progress, as well as the series of documents known as Official Munitions Production of the United States, Munitions Production of Canada, Great Britain and The United States, etc.
- (7) Furnish staff work for the Combined Raw Materials Board and the Combined Production and Resources Board, dealing with the full range of problems under the jurisdiction of these international agencies.
- (8) Special studies for the Combined Boards, such as the Comparative Study of Food Consumption in Great Britain, Canada and the United States during the War.
- (9) Preparation and development of readjustments in the military programs incident to changing conditions during the war and incident to changes anticipated as a result of the defeat of Germany and changes incident to final winning of the war.

Reason for leaving: Resigned to accept appointment with Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

I was appointed Chief of Planning and Statistics with responsibility for organizing a small staff to have overall supervisory and coordinating functions with regard to the full mobilization of our resources during the war and with regard to the development of reconversion programs. This work was just being developed when the appointment as Chief of the Mission for Economic Affairs was made.

21. Place of employment.....London, England
Dates of employment.....March 15, 1945 - Sept. 30, 1945
Name of employer.....Foreign Economic Administration
Name of supervisor.....Leo T. Crowley
Yearly Salary.....\$9128 to \$9275
Nature of duties.....Chief of Mission for Economic Affairs
with rank of Minister.

Reason for leaving: Desire to return to U.S. after the close of the war.

22. Place of employment.....London, England
Dates of employment.....October 1, 1945 to Jan. 1947
Name of employer.....Department of State
Name of Supervisor.....William L. Clayton, Assistant
Secretary of State for Economic Affairs
Yearly Salary.....\$9275 - \$10,000
Nature of duties.....Chief of Mission for Economic Affairs,
with rank of Minister

- 13 -

This assignment included acting as the representative of the United States on the European Coal Organization, Emergency Economic Committee for Europe, and European Central Inland Transport Organization, and the Committee of the Council for Europe of UNRRA.

Reason for leaving: See answer to (21.) Continuation of (21) on a different technical basis.

23. Place of employment.....Washington, D. C.
 Dates of employment.....January 20, 1947 - May 1948
 Name of employer.....Department of Commerce
 Name of supervisor.....The Honorable W. Averell Harriman
 Yearly Salary.....\$10,330
 Nature of Duties.....Director, Office of International Trade

Full Policy and administrative supervision of the work of an Office with five divisions (Commodities, Areas, Services and Intelligence, Export Control, Administrative) and 1,100 employees. Served as alternate to the Secretary of Commerce on the National Advisory Council on International Financial Policy, and as Departmental representative on the Board of the Foreign Service of the United States.

Reason for leaving: Continued supervision of this office while Acting Assistant Secretary of Commerce.

24. Place of employment.....Washington, D. C.
 Dates of employment.....May 1948 - April 1949
 Name of employer.....Department of Commerce
 Name of supervisor.....The Honorable Charles Sawyer
 Yearly Salary.....\$10,330
 Nature of duties.....Acting Assistant Secretary of Commerce

Full policy supervision over Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce (five offices: Office of Business Economics; Office of Domestic Commerce, Office of International Trade, Office of Small Business and Field Service) with 2,000 employees.

Reason for leaving: Resigned to accept appointment as Assistant Secretary of Commerce.

25. Place of employment.....Washington, D. C.
 Dates of employment.....April 14, 1949 - January 15, 1951
 Name of employer.....Department of Commerce
 Name of supervisor.....The Honorable Charles Sawyer
 Yearly Salary.....\$10,000 (until 10/15/49) - \$15,000
 Nature of Duties.....Assistant Secretary of Commerce

Full policy responsibility for all the foreign activities of the Department of Commerce including the work in all Bureaus and Agencies.

Reason for leaving: Resigned to accept appointment as Visiting Professor of Political Science and Acting Director of Bureau of International Relations at the University of California.

- 14 -

26. Place of employment.....Berkeley, California
 Date of employment.....January 15, 1951 to June 30, 1951
 Name of employer.....University of California, Berkeley
 Name of supervisor.....Peter H. Odegard
 Yearly salary.....\$12,000
 Nature of duties.....Visiting Professor of Political
 Science and Acting Director of Bureau
 of International Relations

Teaching courses in American Foreign Policy and surveying the work of the University of California in the field of International Relations.

Reason for leaving: Completion of contract and acceptance of permanent assignment as Professor of Political Science.

27. Place of employment.....Berkeley, California
 Date of employment.....July 1, 1951 to present
 Name of employer.....University of California, Berkeley
 Name of supervisor.....Peter H. Odegard
 Yearly salary.....\$12,000 to \$14,000
 Nature of duties.....Professor of Political Science and
 Director of Bureau of International
 Relations.

Teaching courses in American Foreign Policy and administering the Bureau of International Relations, a service bureau of the Department of Political Science which operates an International Relations library, acts as secretariat for the Committee on International Relations of the University, is responsible for a program of foreign visitors to the University, and other duties in connection with International Relations program of the University.

28. Place of employment.....Washington, D. C., and Paris, France
 Date of employment.....June 19, 1951 to spring of 1953
 (record of exact date not available)
 Name of employer.....Economic Cooperation Administration
 (Mutual Security Agency)
 Name of supervisor.....William C. Foster
 Yearly salary.....\$50 per day w.a.e.
 Nature of duties.....Consultant

Special assignments by the administrator, including acting as his representative on various interdepartmental activities dealing with international allocation of materials and the supervision of analyses dealing with these allocations; also to represent the Administrator in Paris before the Economic and Social Committee of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and to act as Consultant for the Administrator at the meetings of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Ottawa in the fall of 1951.

- 14a -

- 27a. The activities of the Bureau of International Relations, of which I am Director, have been expanded to include the administrative supervision of the Institute of International Studies (an outgrowth of the Committee on International Relations). This Institute consists of a group of centers as follows:

- Center for Chinese Studies
- Center for Japanese Studies
- Center for Latin American Studies
- Center for Slavic and East European Studies
- Center for South Asia Studies
- East Asia Studies
- International Urban Research
- Bureau of International Relations

The Director of the Bureau in his capacity as Executive Secretary of the Institute of International Studies is responsible to the Chancellor of the University, not to the chairman of his department. For his teaching duties he is responsible to the chairman of the department, Professor Charles Aikin.

- 28a. Consultancy was terminated, as services had not been called upon for some time. The termination is a matter of record in the historical files of the I.C.A.

- Responsibility for organization, supervision and conduct of an International Conference on Agricultural and Cooperative Credit under a contract between the University of California and the Department of State, (Technical Cooperation Administration), Department of Agriculture, and Mutual Security Agency. This was a special summer assignment in addition to regular duties during the academic year.

- To act as one of four special consultants to the Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board of the United Nations for the utilization of special funds made available to the Technical Assistance Board for the year 1953.

- Preparation of special report and participation in Conference on the Development of Technical Assistance Programme for Underdeveloped Areas.

International Conference on Agricultural and Cooperative Credit--Introduction
to the first of two volumes of **INTRODUCTION** Appendix VI
Proceedings, published 1953.

On August 4, 1952 the International Conference on Agricultural and Cooperative Credit opened at Boalt Hall of Law, University of California, Berkeley. This meeting was the first of a series which lasted over a period of nine weeks. It included six weeks in Berkeley, two weeks traveling between Berkeley and Washington, D. C., and the final week in Washington. The delegates, including those who were studying in American universities, as well as those who came especially from abroad, represented thirty-four countries. Many of them were prominent officials in their own governments; all were profoundly concerned with the problems of financing agricultural activity in their own countries.

It is generally recognized that agricultural production is basic to the prosperity of the people of the world today. However, this has not always been so. Only recently has there been widespread appreciation of this fact. Since the second World War the extent of destruction of agricultural production in Europe has been fairly well known. What is not so well known is the breakdown of much of the commercial production in South Asia of such basic food stuffs as rice and the small grains which make up such a large part of the food of the poorest people.

The world-wide concern with the immediate problem of re-establishment of agricultural production has also accentuated the interest in the fundamental problems which are of long standing and which have prevented the improvement of the standard of living of hundreds of millions of people. So it is not surprising that such agencies of the United Nations as the Food and Agriculture Organization and UNESCO have made the increase of agricultural production one of the outstanding tasks for this generation.

The Government of the United States, both as a member of the United Nations agencies and on its own initiative, has likewise made available the

-2-

the resources and facilities of the United States in assisting to complete a major segment of the task of increasing food production. This has been a major part of the Point IV program, and the exchange of technical information in the field of agriculture has become widespread. At home it has been the policy of the United States Government to call upon various non-governmental institutions to assist in this program. As part of this phase of the Government's policy, the Department of State through the Technical Cooperation Administration and the Mutual Security Agency undertook a Conference on Land Tenure which was held at the University of Wisconsin in November, 1951. This was part of a more comprehensive program being carried out by the University of Wisconsin, and its repercussions have been manifold. The success of the Wisconsin Conference encouraged the Department of State to undertake a second conference dealing with the problems, also related to agricultural production, involved in agricultural finance. An agreement was reached with the University of California to undertake this Conference.

This record of the Conference will make the experience available to the public. This volume is the first of two volumes of Proceedings. It includes the papers presented to the various general sessions and the public and the record of the discussions between the delegates and those who were invited to participate in the Conference as lecturers. The second volume brings together the reports prepared for the Conference by the delegates concerning the developments in their countries involving agricultural and cooperative finance.

While the substantive materials presented by the lecturers deal largely with American practice, this was done consciously in order to enable the delegates to take advantage of the experience of the United States. Those responsible for the Conference regretted that it was impossible to have a more adequate advance preparation by the delegates to the Conference for more complete information from the countries represented than appears in this

-3-

record. However, the information presented was sufficient to warrant a feeling of genuine satisfaction at the very rich experience made available.

The record of Inspection Trips, both in Central California and between California and Washington, D. C., is a further addition to the materials which were found useful by the delegates. It will be found in the second volume.

While these documents dealing with the basic record are being prepared, a parallel undertaking is underway. A number of delegates at the Conference found the materials so helpful that they requested that Spanish and French translations be made available. We have accepted their suggestion. The translations will be delayed somewhat but should be ready shortly, following the publication of the English version.

A word should be said about the Conference Report. In the first place, it was prepared by the delegates and reflects their judgment of the emphasis which should be placed on particular facets of the broad field of agricultural finance. It was their thinking that it might be used as a part of the individual reports which would be made by delegates to their home governments. It is to be regretted that these reports can obviously not be made available to anyone except the governments to which they are directed. In the second place, the Report is in three languages. This reflects the common concern of the Conference that the materials should be as widely used as possible. The management of the Conference is following this policy and as has been indicated above will translate the full proceedings into Spanish and French.

There were many participants in the Conference. The most important ones were the delegates themselves. However, the various local staff and visiting personnel gave a richness to the materials made available which was of great satisfaction to all who were present. The local community also

~~4~~

became intimately associated with carrying on the Conference, and the by-product in terms of friendships which were made at the Conference certainly represents values which are not to be overlooked.

In this brief word introducing this Conference record, it is impossible to express adequately the appreciation of the local staff for the help received from many sources. The experience of the University of Wisconsin, the experience of all lecturers and speakers, the friendly cooperation from the Ford Foundation and the American International Association, the helpful participation of the various banks and insurance companies, and last and in some ways most important, the contribution of the individual farmers who made available to the delegates their records and experiences, have all created a fund of indebtedness which it will be impossible to repay.

The Director of the Conference is aware of too many people to whom he is indebted in carrying on the Conference to make it possible to specify any individuals without drawing invidious comparisons. The long list of participants in the Conference and the various advisory groups and the many staff people who participated, demonstrated a spirit of cooperative work which has never been surpassed. The kind of relationships which developed in this atmosphere are part of the warp and woof of goodwill which makes for healthy international understanding.

The Editor of this volume and her staff have stayed with a very difficult, detailed and burdensome task after the stimulus of the Conference was over. This volume is the first of the fruits of that labor. The others will represent materials which all hope will add to the more adequate achievement of the fundamental objectives of the Conference, namely, the improvement of living standards of people throughout the world.

Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., Director

SENIOR FAREWELL MEETING
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY
MAY 14, 1963

Speech by Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.
on behalf of retiring professors

There is an old Irish custom of holding what is known as a wake. One has no alternative to attending his own wake. But rarely is he asked to speak.

A distinguished visitor to the University, Professor Gunnar Myrdal, recently analyzed the problem of unemployment. He dealt with one subject which is significant to the retiring professors. He proposed a major program of retraining. In some cases, this meant starting from scratch; in other cases, it meant learning new skills for those whose jobs had been liquidated.

There are a number of ways by which the oldsters might get some retraining. One is by volunteering to join the Peace Corps. There are any number of places where mature enthusiasm and wisdom are as important as youth, skills, brawn and devotion.

Others of us might take advantage of adult education programs. Here is a chance for the old men to learn something from the young men.

A third possibility is to start over again with the three R's. Much reading nowadays is badly done. Most of us older people didn't go to school when such things as speed-reading and speed-understanding were taught. If we learn to read again, we may read faster and even know what it means.

Then we could learn to write. Some of us have learned to use our typewriters, but others write poorly, and people have difficulty not only in deciphering it, but they are not sure what it does mean. So our second

course would be one of learning to write.

And then we should deal with 'Rithmetic. $2 + 2$ used to make 4. But now it ain't necessarily so. We need to learn our mathematics again so that we will be acquainted with the principles of uncertainty and discontinuity, something which we are now experiencing.

There is a fourth element in this retraining. We shall have to learn a couple of languages. We might even brush up on those which we didn't learn but "passed" for our Ph.D. exams.

So after we have had our courses in reading, writing, figuring and languages, there may be a chance to use the new skills.

What will we work at? I am not bold enough to invade the realm of natural science. However, some of our young engineers and scientists tell us that we are spending too much time on the far-out studies. They say that while eventually research in pure science pays off, it is time we pay more attention to the relatively simple problems.

We social scientists have a major problem in devising the factors and formulae which should be put into the computers to solve these simple problems. As educators, we are still confused over such issues as the mathematical difference between something called "A" and something called "B" when we are grading papers. We are also concerned with how many mathematical units it takes to distinguish a freshman from a sophomore. These problems require a mathematics which hasn't yet been invented.

If we turn to the Political Scientists, we ask: How distinguish a Republican from a Democrat? We know one answer: A Republican is a person who votes the Republican ticket; and a Democrat is a person who votes the Democratic ticket, except in California where he votes the

Republican ticket.

The economists have told us that balanced budgets are no longer necessary. They have, however, neglected to tell us what a balanced budget is.

In the realm of Sociology, we have such things as public opinion polls. One of the favorite games is to see how close an election can get to what the pollsters told us it must be. Every now and then, the elections do approximate the predictions.

Anyhow, with all of these important problems in the social sciences to be solved, there may be some point to retraining the social scientists who are retiring.

But all of this retraining -- or, if you please, the "reprocessing of retreads" -- is going to leave us with the problems with which education now is and always will be concerned: the problem of what is Right and what is Wrong.

It is unworthy of scholars to say they are concerned only with discovering the facts. For the new facts establish the terms on which people live with each other. All new discoveries force us to rethink the fundamentals. This applies to the new realm of the expanding universe, to Einstein's relativity, to Calvin's photosynthesis, to Stanley's viruses, to Seaborg's new elements, to the mathematical models of the economists, to the managerial feats of cybernetics, and to the new international governments of Hammerskjold and Monnet. All studies in these areas lead us to new understandings of the way we must live with each other, i.e., the Right and the Wrong. New knowledge, irrespective of our

intent or disclaimers, does create new understanding. This is the old training and the new retraining.

This morning those of the senior class who go on to new jobs and those of us who retire to our new jobs all have the same basic task. In the words of the Apostle Paul: Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.

+ + +

2250 Piedmont Avenue
June 3, 1963

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
Development and Resources Corporation
50 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I have seen in the newspapers references to a series of lectures which you gave at Princeton dealing with nuclear research, government research vs private research, the cost of power produced by the use of nuclear reactors, etc. Are there copies of these addresses available, or must one wait until the Princeton University Press publishes? I am anxious to see this material.

It was a great shock to read in the papers of the untimely death of Gordon Clapp. What a wonderful person he was and how you must miss him.

I am going to be at Martha's Vineyard for most of the month of July. If you are there, it will be a great pleasure to see you. My address will be in care of Louis Jaffe at Chilmark.

Sincere personal regards,

Thomas C. Klaisell, Jr.

TCE/sms

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

ONE WHITEHALL STREET

NEW YORK

WHITEHALL 4-4521

address card noted

June 5, 1963

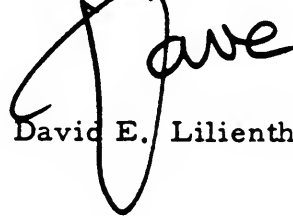
Dear Tom:

The revised Stafford Little Lectures we expect to appear in book form, from the Princeton Press, in early autumn.

Thank you for your comment about Gordon. He is sorely missed, as a friend and as an extremely talented administrator.

Yes, I will be at our place on the Vineyard at least part of the summer. Hope we can get together there.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Dave", with a large, sweeping loop on the left side.

David E. Lilienthal

Mr. Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.

2250 Piedmont Avenue

Berkeley 4, California

94720

October 3, 1963

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
1 Whitehall Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Just finished reading your book on the atom. Also, the summary article in the New York Times. I believe that this little book places us all in your debt even more than heretofore. As I recall it, you were the first person to say in public that it was time we began to transfer some of the atomic energy work to private enterprise, namely, break down the government monopoly. A number of the things which you have said here I have heard Glenn Seaborg say. For example, the last time I heard him speak on the question of the development of atomic power, he made the same point which you have made in the book: Up to now, we haven't learned what to do with the atomic ashes. This is the most serious problem which the scientists face with regard to the development of atomic power.

Two years ago when I was in Europe talking with the men in Brussels concerned with the Euratom organization, they said in substance, "We were certainly wrong in our appraisal of the significance of atomic fuel. The high cost of coal in Europe and the lack of acquaintance with the use of fuel oil and natural gas in Western Europe made us extremely susceptible to the arguments for a rapid and extensive development of power plants using atomic fuels. We now know we were wrong and that for the immediate future, the alternate sources of petroleum and gas and even coal are more important." This same set of arguments is spelled out in scholarly detail in the report of the special Energy Committee of the Coal and Steel Community in their endeavor to have a Europe-wide "energy policy."

I hope that your book will stir interest around the country as well as in Washington. I dare say, no one is more skeptical than yourself that there will be major repercussions within a short period of time.

Sincere personal regards,

Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.

TCB/sms

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
ONE WHITEHALL STREET
NEW YORK
WHITEHALL 4-4521

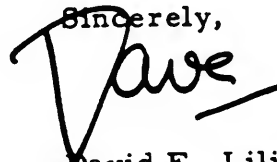
October 9, 1963

413
Dear Tom:

Your letter was intensely interesting; I have felt for some time that these things needed saying publicly, and in strong terms, and since no one else felt like stepping up to the plate I thought I should.

It was good to see you this summer; only wish we could have had more time together.

Sincerely,



David E. Lilienthal

DEL:mb

Mr. Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.
Department of Political Science
University of California
Berkeley 4, California

January 11, 1981

Towards the end of 1980 I enjoyed my eighty-fifth birthday. A crowded December suggested I postpone any celebration until January. After all it is no "big deal". Many have done it. But it is my first time! I want a quiet celebration with friends. These have been wonderful years.

Please come for a tea party at the Lipman Room in Barrows Hall on campus between three and five on January 11th. We will have an hour to chat and at four o'clock Ms. Nishi's Quartette will play some Mozart for us. Please, no gifts. This is my gift of appreciation to you for your friendship over the years. ♪

The Lipman Room is on the 8th floor of Barrows Hall, the building directly behind Sproul Hall. Take the elevator at either end of the building to the 7th floor. Elevator to the 8th floor is at the east end. Park on Campus or the parking structure on Bancroft Way opposite University Art Museum. No ticketing on Sunday afternoon.

Regrets only, please. (415) 841-1923

TOM BLAISDELL

copy of draft received
from Professor Blaisdell
6/28/88

2/7/

Why Eleanor Roosevelt?

Eleanor (Mrs. Franklin D.) Roosevelt is the greatest person whom it has been my privilege to know.

I made this statement recently and several friends have asked, Why? This involves not only Mrs. Roosevelt but also me. Not only what did Mrs. Roosevelt do, but what are my standards. I didn't know President Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, Pandit Nehru, Mrs. Gandhi, Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, or other great names of the time, although I had met them and others. I had studied their careers and influence. In my statement about Mrs. Roosevelt I placed her name alongside that of the Chief Justice of the *United States*.

I gave the two top rank in what I called "the revolution that has been taking place over my lifetime," i.e., the progress that has been taking place in the relations between the races in the United States.

I first met Mrs. Roosevelt when Mrs. Blaisdell and I went to Washington in the fall of 1933, with our son Thomas Maltby Blaisdell. As it happened, he attended the same school as two Roosevelt grandchildren, who were living with their grandparents at the White House. Our son, Tom, from time to time went to the White House to play with his schoolmates, ^{and} Mrs. Blaisdell went ^{there} to pick him up to bring him home. Mrs. Roosevelt invited her to have tea while they were waiting for the children to complete their play. Mrs. Roosevelt's quality as grandmother was reflected in these relationships as was her sensitivity to other friendly relationships. Over the years, we had other opportunities to see her, such as the time when we were stationed in London. Mrs. Roosevelt was there on an official mission. Rations were short. We

had never suffered, so were surprised when we received two eggs from her, which a friend, not wishing her to suffer any shortages, had sent her.

Again, we happened to meet her when we were travelling in Indonesia. She had no reason to show special friendship, but it was her way with people.

As the wife of President Roosevelt, she might have been only a White House hostess, for she was a fine one. Instead, she became eyes, ears, travelling reporter for the President, and her influence should never be minimised. The President showed little political evidence of his interest in problems of interracial relations, but Mrs. Roosevelt's was apparent in her travels in support of equal status of women, black or white. In her travels in the South her evidence of impartiality was apparent.

Traveling

In 1988, Professor Blaisdell pulled together this summary of some of his major travels. On a number of occasions, his wife, Catharine Maltby Blaisdell accompanied him.

- 1912-13 Germany
- 1916-
- Sept. 1919 *San Francisco, Japan, Shanghai, Hongkong, Canton, Singapore, Calcutta, Allahabad*
- 1921 Paris, Berlin, London
- 1922 Peking via Honolulu, Japan, Shanghai, Peking
- 1924 Peking-Peking to USA via Mukden, Moscow, Northford
Return Seattle, Japan, Tientsin(?), Peking
- 1925 Peking, Moscow, Paris, London, Northford
- 1934(?) —→ Cuba, Mexico City, return to Washington
- 1935(?) —→ Mexico City
- 1937 Washington, D.C., Paris, Geneva, Vienna, London
- 1945-46 London Paris-?, Berlin
- 1948 Berlin, Rio, São Paulo, Buenos Aires, Lima
- 1950 Tokyo (MacArthur), Seoul
- 1951 Washington; Paris, Rome, Siena, Florence, Nice, Paris, London
Ottawa, return to Berkeley
- 1955 Japan, Singapore, India, Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Japan, Hawaii (Pakistan?)
- 1958 Washington, Hartford, New York City, Portugal; Spain-Majorca-Switzerland, Venice, Rome, Taormina, Brindisi, Petra, Athens, Delphi, Salonika, Skopje, Belgrade, Groz, Vienna, Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, Bonn, *Bresse*, Holland, Hamburg, Gotesberg, Norway, Lillehammer, Stahlheim, Bergen, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Berkeley

- 1961 Kauai, New York City, Martha's Vineyard, London, Zermatt, Brussels,
London, Boston, *Washington*, Berkeley
- 1962 Japan, Tokyo, Kyoto, Hiroshima, Indonesia, Hongkong, Honolulu, Kauai,
Berkeley
- 1963 Phoenix, Martha's Vineyard, Berkeley
- 1964 Victoria, B.C., Jasper, Berkeley
- 1965 Canada (*Blind River*), Winnipeg, Quebec, New York City, Thailand via
Europe and India, Christmas on Kauai
- 1966 London, Germany, Switzerland, France, Morocco, Senegal, Nigeria,
Leopoldville, Angola, Mozambique, Kenya, Addis *Ababa*, Cairo, Lucerne,
Berkeley
- 1972 Brussels, Locarno, *Ascona*, Florence, Zurich, Brussels
- 1974 Juneau, *Glaizer* Bay, Washington, D.C.
- 1975-77 Phoenix
- 1978 *Aspen*, Martha's Vineyard, Phoenix
- 1979-80 Washington and China (Beijing, Xian, Chungtu, Chungking, Wuhan, Shang-
hai, *Guangdong*) Hongkong, Kyoto, Tokyo, Martha's Vineyard
- 1985 Helsinki, Leningrad, Moscow, Armenia, Tbilisi, Tashkent,
Paris, London, Berkeley

MAURINE MULLINER

3024 TILDEN STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

9-26-88

Dear Letter Writers & Telephoners:

There was that article in NEWSWEEK of July 4, 1988, about "mostly unsung heroes" in the US in which I was selected as representing the District of Columbia, and on July 5th an article in The Washington Post, "Connecticut: Golden Avenue for the District's Elderly" carried a photo of me and a brief comment. The pleasant result has been dozens of communications by phone and by mail (including a book of which I already had a copy) from coast to coast. I am responding with this form letter of appreciation. There were commercial inquiries too. One from a travel company and another from a personal emergency response company wanting to use my photo in their ads. None was accepted.

Also, there were radio and television interviews, including an hour long-distance phone interview with an Italian journalist-researcher whose article is to appear in Oct. or Nov. in Italy. If I receive a copy I shall seek a translator.

When the reporter from NEWSWEEK came for the first interview I asked him if they had considered the public relations aspect of choosing a white person to represent a city with a 74 percent black population; and said that I was not sure that I would be comfortable in that role. We talked a while and I mentioned that there was American Indian blood in my family, and that fact might provide a bridge if mentioned in the article. So we proceeded. That fact did not appear, but he may have included it to have it edited out. Three editors at different levels phoned me from New York with different questions as that July 4th edition was being put together there.

At church the first Sunday in July the speaker (our Sr. Minister was on vacation) was a person whom I did not know who was to talk about the importance of volunteerism in a democratic society. Holding up the copy of NEWSWEEK as an illustration of her talk she said she had been told that the person selected for DC might be present--if so, would Maurine Mulliner please stand. I did.

During the same time span I was helping the reporter for The Post by suggesting resources she might tap in putting her article together. I was never interviewed for the article. However, just before she was going to press she phoned to ask if she could send a photographer over to take my picture for the article. I replied that I probably did not look better or worse than I would with more time, so over he came.

-2-

By the way, all the photographers for the articles and the TV tapings were most knowledgeable and likeable. One of them had just returned from covering Mr. Gorbachev in Moscow.

I don't subscribe to NEWSWEEK so when one of the TV crews came at six o'clock June 5th, I told them that I had not seen the article in the July 4th issue and did not know what was in it. At 9:45 that night just before they were preparing for the ten o'clock broadcast the anchor lady who had interviewed me phoned to say she no longer needed her copy and two of the crew wanted to bring it to me. At 10:30 those two men were at my door with the magazine. Such beautiful people.

My nieces favored me with some beautiful carnations.

I've told friends who mention the publicity, that at my time of life I am thoroughly enjoying "my last hurrah"

In closing, many, many thanks to each of you for thinking of letting me know of your caring.

With friendship and love,

Maurine

18 Women End Cosmos Club's 110-Year Male Era

By Lawrence Feinberg
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Cosmos Club, which dropped its 110-year-old men-only membership policy last spring, has admitted its first women members—a group of 18 that includes the U.S. secretary of labor, the chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals, the commissioner of labor statistics, and several scientists and economists.

At the same time, the club admitted 18 men, the largest number to join in one month for many years.

"We're delighted [to have] so many exceptionally qualified women," club President Teddon J. Meyers said, "and . . . to have attracted the same quality of men."

"I guess a lot of guys feel it's safe to join the club now that we're no longer slightly subversive from the government's point of view," said one member, who had opposed admitting women but voted to do so because "we saw the handwriting on the wall . . . I just hope we'll continue to take people based on their talents and what they are, not based on who they are or any pressures."

"I think [the Cosmos Club] is reflecting what is happening in society," said Labor Secretary Ann Dore McLaughlin, a new member nominated for the club by Arthur J. Goldberg, a former labor secretary and justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

"There are women in government, women in business, women in science and the universities," McLaughlin said. "A generation from now we will all look back and wonder what all the fuss was about" over admitting women to men's clubs.

"I'm looking forward to using the club," McLaughlin said.

The club, housed in an ornate stone mansion at 2121 Massachusetts Ave. NW, has long been a retreat for government officials.

WOMEN MEMBERS OF COSMOS CLUB



Barbara A. Baller: mathematical statistician; executive director, the American Statistical Association.

Martha E. Church: geographer; president, Hood College.

Rita R. Colwell: microbiologist; director, Maryland Biotechnology Institute; professor of microbiology, University of Maryland.

Georgie Anne Geyer: journalist; syndicated columnist, Universal Press Syndicate; author: television and Voice of America news analyst.

Elaine Sartin Jaffer: physician; pathologist; chief, hematopathology section, deputy chief, laboratory of pathology, National Cancer Institute, National Institutes of Health.

Mary Dublin Keyserling: economist; associate director, Conference on Economic Policy; former director, Women's Bureau.

Carol G. LaRue: retired career diplomat; director of Georgetown Institute for the Study of Diplomacy; former ambassador to Nepal.

Helen Hayes MacArthur: actress.

Susan K. Martin: librarian; executive director, National Commission on Libraries and Information Science.

Ann Dore McLaughlin: secretary of labor.

Johann Hill Miller: journalist, author.

Maurine Mulliner: staff planning advisor to the commissioner, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Janet L. Norwood: economist, statistician, U.S. commissioner of labor statistics.

Eather Peterson: consumer advocate; former U.N. representative; former White House consumer affairs adviser; International Organization of Consumer Unions.

Nina Matheny Roacher: chemist; professor of chemistry, American University; part-time program director, Science Education directorate, National Science Foundation.

Lola Dickson Rice: educational administrator; senior vice president, government affairs, Control Data Corp.

Barbara B. Taft: English historian; fellow, Royal Historical Society.

Patricia M. Wald: lawyer; chief judge, U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

violated the District's antidiscrimination law.

Two women whose nominations to the club were previously reported—journalist Nina Totenberg and former League of Women Voters president Lucy Benson—were not in the first group approved. Meyers said work on their nominations has not yet been completed.

The Cosmos Club has about 3,000 members, but recently vacancies on its rolls have risen to about 350 and the average age of its members has climbed to 66.

The admission of women to the Cosmos follows a pattern at prominent men's clubs around the country, partly as a result of a nationwide drive led by Americans for Democratic Action. In June, two days after the Cosmos Club vote, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a New York City law banning sex bias in large clubs.

So far the number of women joining the clubs has been small. For example, there are 12 women out of 1,900 members of the District's University Club, which began admitting women in 1984. The Metropolitan Club, the District's other major all-male club, which decided to admit women four days after the Cosmos, does not have any women members.

John H. Banzhaf III, a George Washington University law professor who brought the discrimination complaint against the Cosmos, said he was pleased that the club "seems to be moving quickly on [admitting] women," but added, "are they going to keep up the pace or are they just miming the superstars they can get?"

The Cosmos "should have changed a long time ago," said Lois Dickson Rice, a new member who is senior vice president for government affairs of Control Data Corp. Rice lives two blocks from the club. "I feel privileged having been asked to join," she said. "And it's a very

10-29-88

Hear Tom; I've been enjoying a "last-look" this year as you see from this publicity. Hope you are reasonably well + content. With love

Maurine

P.S. This communication represents quite an ego tap for me. m.

Appendix XIII

Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.--HN

Notes on a Conversation, November 14, 1988The Steel Connection

During a trip for the Commerce Department to São Paulo, Brazil, 1948, TB looked at a steel mill paid for by AID, as a wartime carryover. The mill was just beginning operation under an American contractor and 200 steelworkers from the US. The workers were listening to the results of the American election by radio when Truman beat Dewey. The general manager preferred Dewey. When TB and his staff returned to the embassy in Buenos Aires, 12 staff members were drawn up in front of the building. When TB emerged from the car, all 12 knelt with their heads touching the ground.

Later, TB learned that the São Paulo mill was exporting steel. The Commerce department dealt with a demand for permits to export steel from the US. The American capacity had been overbuilt. and by 1986 European and British steel mills were also overbuilt.

In India, steel remained the No. 1 demand for aid later as it had been during the war. The Indian government requested and received steel mills from Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. At that time the US government was not giving away steel mills.

As a consequence, private Indian companies undertook to finance the setting-up of steel mills on their own. In one case they had hired US Steel Company to establish the mill. US Steel also established their own village for American workers and management with swimming pool and other facilities. Shortly before the Blaisdells were to take a trip to India, he learned that one of his students had married an Indian man who had studied engineering at UC. They looked up (his?) family in India. In Calcutta TB asked the American consul to make the connections. He called the company; the manager invited the Blaisdells to fly with him to visit the mill. They visited the market in the mill village. The manager, a Zoroastrian, said that he had never visited the heathen market.

The Japanese Trip

On the second trip, the Blaisdells stayed at International House, a private club in Tokyo. They went by bus to the hills and a lake outside Tokyo. At lunch, a Japanese couple sat with them; the man spoke English, but the wife did not. The man was responsible for Japanese nuclear development. (This was early in the 1950s.) The couple gave them a ride back to their Club, and they spent time together. Later, when TB was instrumental in bringing them to the US for a visit, they came to the Blaisdell home. /The husband preceded his wife into the Berkeley house. She in full kimono and obi, entered second. .

Despite the language barrier, the two women communicated easily.

The Foreign Language Connection

Both the Bureau and the Institute sought to step up the quality of staff members with respect to foreign language competence, particularly in Chinese, Indonesian, and Arabic. George Lenczowski wanted to learn Arabic, became fluent in Iranian, and continues to write in that field. He was a former employee of the Polish government in the foreign office.

Virginia Adloff was in the government service during World War II; she knew French colonial development and wrote on French imperialism in North Africa, Algeria, Egypt. She led a graduate seminar at UC, as part of the Institute's staff. The Blaisdells visited her home, Villa Eze la Rose at Eze in France, where she and her sister had adjoining villas. Her father had been a steel man, and she was well traveled, having been in China early.

Jack Service had been General Stilwell's translator in Chinese, and a foreign service officer. After retirement at UC, he took a group to China. TB specified the Yangtze gorges, as his particular wish, and he joined the trip a few years ago.

Scalapino had learned Chinese during the war. Jerry Cohen wanted to do Chinese law, and learn the language. The Institute helped him come to law school, but he was won away to Harvard and now practices law in New York.

The promotion of languages led the Institute to become a significant factor in training Peace Corps people in language and other cultural elements. Through TB's interest and efforts, UC became the leading university in the supply of Peace Corps personnel.

The World Affairs Council of Northern California

TB began going to Asilomar for the council's Annual Conference, and continued for 10 or 15 years. He also served on the board. Someone from the council wanted to organize studies at Monterey, and Pebble Beach. TB spoke to the group every fall. He also gave the opening speech for the young people's group of the WAC every fall, providing the kickoff address. Finally, and most important, he served as leader of the Asilomar group that was in charge of the conference one year, and presided at the Asilomar meetings.

(A note on some good friends: Virginia Adloff and her husband, Georgianna Stevens and her husband, introduced the Blaisdells to Berkeley and San Francisco, the West Coast and the Sierra Club.)

EVENTS

Appendix XIV

*A professorial jewel*By Caroline Drewes
OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

HE IS NEARLY half the age of the Constitution of the United States. By no means is this his prime claim to distinction, but in a Bicentennial year, it is something to muse upon.

And by virtue of his 91 years, Thomas C. Blaisdell, professor emeritus of economics at UC-Berkeley, would seem qualified — even beyond his impressive academic credentials — to reflect on the document that in the beginning was the most radical practical govern-

mental instrument on Earth. (And it worked.)

The people who run the Fromm Institute for Higher Learning at the University of San Francisco where he lectures, are apt to refer to Professor Blaisdell as "the jewel in our crown."

He is a man of charm and learning, of quick twinkles and amusing asides. He also possesses the apparent stamina of someone one-third his age. He hiked across Switzerland every summer until two years ago.

The hardy economist will be keynote speaker at the Fromm Insti-

tute's day-long Symposium on the Bicentennial — "To Form a More Perfect Union" — Saturday at the USF campus.

He was not about to give away much of his speech during a brief conversation a few days before. And he was eager to hightail it back to pressing duties in Berkeley. (Blaisdell's only nod to the years seems to be a hearing aid.)

But he talked about some of his experiences and views. By nature, Blaisdell is an optimist. He believes the Constitution expresses the faith

— See FROMM, D-11

From D-10

Americans hold in the truths binding us together in a community. He believes the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court, Congress and the president comes from deep in the hearts of the people, that "the changes over years in a strange way keep us together, but only because people keep asking what kind of government do we want and what are fundamentals of our faith."

Today, says Blaisdell, "The Constitution works as well as it ever. We have expected the Constitution to do some things that can be done by people. It is the people who honor in their hearts the ideals that are expressed especially in the amendments."

And make no mistake, the justices do listen to what goes on in the folk, including the press. The Supreme Court listens to election results."

On the occasion of this 200th anniversary, there are those who argue that the Constitution no longer is sufficient as it stands, that it could be overhauled. The professor disagrees. For one thing, "It has been so flexible over the years, with leadership of some great chief justices, not the least a former governor of the state of California. People say Earl Warren was not an outstanding lawyer. He was a great one. And that is more important."

The professor has held a series of appointments in various federal administrations. He likes to say, "I am neither a lawyer nor a constitutional scholar, but as a working bureaucrat, I was forced to think long and hard about the document which has so often dominated the government of the United States since its

Unique university for seniors

IT HAS BEEN 11 years since the Fromm Institute for Lifelong Learning was established, with the University of San Francisco as its host institution.

The idea for this unique mini-university for men and women over 50 years of age was sparked the day Hanna Fromm asked her distinguished wine-baron husband, "What would you like to do after you retire?" and his answer was immediate: "I think that I would like to return to school — but not with my grandchildren."

In its first semester, the innovative Institute, a pilot in the nation, offered six courses taught by six professors to 76 members. In the years since, it has flourished and grown beyond anyone's dreams.

A maximum 300 students are enrolled, with 14 courses (including

computer courses) taught each session by 30 emeriti professors. UC Medical School annually provides professors who discuss problems of interest to older people.

Hanna Fromm says when the word got out concerning the institute's acceptance of writings by people over 50, "We received over 14,000 manuscripts from all over the world. We did not know how many people love to write but are embarrassed about it. We had to hire a retired librarian to put this abundance in order; it will be useful for research by gerontologists, psychologists and historians."

The Institute is an integral part of the life of USF, but is governed by a separate board of educators and leading citizens and provides its own funding.

— Caroline Drewes

founding."

Looking back on his years Thomas Blaisdell also will tell you. "Through my life, I have hit the interesting times over and over again." He wasn't always aware of them when they were happening. But it was so.

He was born "over a gold mine" in Pittsburgh, Pa., and as a youth was sent to Berlin where his parents considered the best education was to be had. After a year and a half the young Blaisdell returned home "two days before the beginning of World War I. I was completely unaware that a war was starting. In fact, listening to people

talk, I was convinced there would be no war. Why? There was a lot of socialist influence in western Europe at that time, more than a great many people realized. Both French and German trade unions were solid socialist. No one could believe that working-men brothers were going to fight each other."

Later, he was to teach English and Moghul history at Ewing Christian College in Allanabad, India. "I was there when Gandhi had come from South Africa and was beginning to make his way as one of the great figures of my lifetime. I wasn't aware of it, most people in India were not aware of it.

Blaisdell's graduate work in economics at Columbia was interrupted temporarily by three years teaching at Yen-ching University, Beijing, China. Then, between 1918 and 1951, he held a series of appointments in Washington and the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, when his work also took him to western Europe. He was assistant secretary of commerce for international affairs before coming to UC-Berkeley as director of the bureau of international relations.

He told a story he said he intended to use in his speech at Saturday's symposium. It concerns his late wife Catharine who was internationally known for her work teaching remedial reading:

"I will tell you of the time when my wife overruled the Supreme Court. We were living in Georgetown and our side of the street was white and on the other side of the street was a school that was solid black. In the capital of the United States in nineteen hundred and thirty three," he said, biting off the syllables, "was this division between black and white. There was also what was known as the Georgetown Children's House and my wife was invited to join the board. Interestingly, Children's House catered only to white children, in the capital of the nation."

"Before she was through, the board had lost over half its membership, and the children who needed the service most, the children of women who worked in the white kitchens, had a place where they could go."

"This was before the Warren Court," the professor added, "when so many people had not been aware of what was known as the 14th amendment to the Constitution."

INDEX -- Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr.

- Acheson, Dean, 173
 agricultural labor, movement of,
 124-125
 Alexander, Will, 132
 Altmeyer, Arthur, 141
 American Council on Education, 265
 American Youth Movement, 109-110
 Apter, David E., 226
 Associated Students, University of
 California, Berkeley (ASUC), 265
- Ball, Robert, 141-142
 Bauer, Elizabeth Kelly, 232
 Beros, Karin, 259
 Biddle, Eric, 169, 171
 Bingham, Hiram, 196
 Bingham, Woodbridge, 206, 236
 Blaisdell, Allen, 211
 Blaisdell, Catharine Maltby, 63-
 69, 136
 education,
 Northfield Academy, 77
 study of Chinese, 67, 75
 Teachers College, Columbia
 University, Bachelor's Degree;
 and Master's in psychology,
 94
 jobs,
 Chinese rugs, agent for, 78
 New York City YWCA, industrial
 division, 94
 teaching, 75-76
 UNRRA, 168, 220
 UN secretariat, establishment
 of, 220
 marriage to Thomas C. Blaisdell,
 Jr., 63
 travels, including
 China, 78ff
 India, 240
 Indonesia, 240
 Moscow, 87-90
 New England, 78
- Paris, 200-201
 Blaisdell, Thomas C., Jr.,
 education,
 elementary schools, 6, 7, 12
 high school years, 13-19
 jobs, 14-17
 studies, 17-19
 internship, social work, 60
 university and college,
 Alma College, 20-22, 27-28
 Columbia University/New York
 School of Social Work, M.A.,
 62-63
 Columbia; Ph.D. in economics,
 95
 Oberrealschule, 22-25
 Pennsylvania State College,
 B.A., 20, 28
 family,
 brothers, 2-4
 father, Thomas C. Blaisdell, 1-
 5, 12-14, 19-21, 27
 grandfather, John William
 Blaisdell, 10-11
 grandmother, Harriet Irene
 Morse, 11-12
 mother, Kate Household Christy,
 11-12, 19
 mother's father, 4
 sister, 1
 son, Thomas Maltby Blaisdell,
 76-78. See also Appendix I.
 wife, Catharine Maltby
 Blaisdell. See Blaisdell,
 Catharine Maltby.
 family homes, 1-19
 religion and church, 19-21, 25,
 61
 responsibilities,
 in government. See United
 States, Government of the.

- in the University. See
University of California,
Berkeley, Bureaus, and
Institutes.
- teaching,
China, Yenching University,
Peking (Beijing), 62-67. See
also China.
India, Ewing Christian College,
Allahabad, 29-58, 61. See
also India.
United States,
Brookings Institution,
seminar, 122
Columbia College,
economics, 95
"Introduction to
Contemporary Civilization
in the West," 97-98
University of California,
Berkeley, 134, 203-206,
213-214. See also
University of California,
Berkeley.
with Peter Selz and Seminar, The
American Presidency in Political
Cartoons: 1776-1976, 266. See
also Appendix II.
- Bondurant, Joan, 237
Bowker, Albert, 221, 246
Brandeis, Louis D., 101, 127-130
and competition, 260
and Other People's Money, 127
Brownlow, Louis, 145
commission and recommendations,
145
Bresler, Boris, 254
Bruce, David, 134-135, 194
Bunche, Ralph, 220
Bunim, Tehan Carey, 122
Burns, Arthur R., 99
Burns, Eveline, 153
Byrnes, Jimmie, 165, 171-172, 182-
186, 189
- Cal-in-Berkeley, 216
Cal-in-Cal, 216
Cal-in-the-Capital, 215-219, 256
Cal-in-Sacramento, 216
- Carnegie Foundation, 21
Chall, Malca, 142
Chautauqua,
Lake, 1-3, 9-10
movement, 1, 2
newspaper, 3
China, 62-84, 247-248, 254
Boxer Indemnity Fellowships, 73;
and Chinghua College, 73
Chinese Customs Service, 69-74
Chinese Eastern Railway, 78
Chinese Postal Service, 71-72
Chinese YMCA, 67-68, 74
extraterritorial rights in, 72
famine relief, 67-68
monasteries, 82-84
nationalism, growth of, 74-75
Peking rug industry, 79-81;
Peking Rugs and Peking Boys, 79
Trans-Siberian Railroad, 84-87
travel, Tientsin to Peking, 81-
82
warlords, 67-69
Yenching University, and
interdenominational mission
sponsorship, 66-67. See also
Blaisdell, Thomas C., Jr.,
teaching, China, Yenching
University.
- China Lobby, 247-248, 250
Churchill, Winston, 173-175
city planning and housing, 121-124
Clark, John Maurice, 199
Clay, Lucius, 189
Clayton, Will, 171, 193
Cohen, Wilbur, 141
communist movements,
interrelationships among, 251-
252
Condliffe, John, 203-204, 208, 222,
225-226
and Sloan Room, 222-223
consumer interests, 101-102, 104,
118-119, 125-126
Corman, Harry, 98
Coss, John, 97-98
Currie, Laughlin, 226-227
- Davisson, Malcolm, 241

- Delano, Frederick, 145-146
 Dennison, Henry, 145
 discrimination, 49-52
 Ditchley Foundation, and Hall, 265-266. See also Appendix IV.
 Douglas, William O., 47, 144, 149
 Dulles, John Foster, 247
 Dust Bowl, 124
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 173, 247, 252, 262
 Elliot, Charles, 145-146
 Ezekial, Mordecai, 152
- Fennelly, John, 99
 Fischer, Paul, 22-23
 Ford Foundation, 237, 240-241, 244, 246, 257
 Foreign Relations, Council on, 208 and committee, 208, 215, 265
 Frank, Jerome, 109, 132
 Franks, Oliver, 180-181
- Galbraith, John Kenneth, 234
 Gandhi, Mohandas, 42, 46, 126, 237
 Germany,
 Berlin visit, 90-92
 Oberrealschule, 22-25
 Gesell, Gerhardt, 144, 149-150
 Goose Creek meeting, and full employment, 146-148
 Gulick, Charles, 99, 134, 205
 Gulick, Luther, 145
- Haas, Ernst, 246
 Hamilton, Walton, 137
 Hammarskjöld, Dag, 220
 Harriman, Averell, 116-117, 134-135, 166-169, 186, 191-194
 Harriman Committee for the Marshall Plan, 205
 Harry S. Truman Library, and Institute for National and International Affairs, 158, 177, 265. See also Appendix III.
 Hawkins, Harry, 168, 192
- Henderson, Leon, 118, 149
 Heyman, Ira Michael, 259
 Hillman, Sidney, 117
 Hiss, Alger, 195-199
 Hitch, Charles, 158
 Hoffman, Paul, 135
 Hoover, Herbert, 87, 177-178, 194 and famine relief, 188-189
 Hoover, J. Edgar, 195
 Hopkins, Harry, 131-134
 House Un-American Activities Committee, 196
 Howe, Frederick, 109, 111-112, 117
 Hull, Cordell, 104-105, 131, 167, 172-173
- immigration, issues in, 228-229
 India,
 agriculture, 48; breakup (1948), 249; British East India Company, 31-33; cultures, customs, and languages, 31-38, 43, 52-53; education, 43, 46-47; hiking in, 55-57; Indian Civil Service, 32-33, 41, 44-45, 71; Indian National Congress, 41, 44; influenza epidemic, 57-59; Massacre of Jallianwallah Bagh, 42; religions, 39, 46, 47, 50; teaching Moghul history, 29-32, 52 (See also Blaisdell, Thomas C., Jr., teaching, India, Ewing Christian College); typhoid fever, 54, 58-59; World War I period, 40-41
Indian Press Digest, 237
 International House, Berkeley, 204-205, 208, 211-214
 International YMCA, 66-67
 Chinese YMCA, 74
 International Famine Relief Organization, 81
See also China, famine relief.
- Johnson, Chalmers, 236
 Johnson, Hugh S., 112, 118
 Jones, Jesse, 151

Kennan, George, 181
 Kennedy, John, 49, 235
 Kennedy, Joseph, 178
 Kerner, Robert, 235
 Kerr, Clark, 211, 220-225, 240-245, 255, 258-260
 Keynes, John Maynard, 64-65, 95-97, 131, 174-176, 226-227
 Kissinger, Henry, 236
 Kuznetz, George, 254

La Follette, Philip, 26-27, 107
 La Follette, Robert, Jr., 107, 131
 Lange, Dorothea, 140-142, 203
 Lawrence, Ernest O. See University of California, Systemwide, Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, and Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Berkeley.
 League of Nations, 220
 Lednicki, Wacław, 254
 Lend-Lease, 166, 169-173, 183-188
 Letiche, John, 254
 Levenson, Joseph, 249
 Lewis, John L., 117, 119
 Lilje, Frederic, 254
 Lincoln, Abraham, 263
 Lipset, Seymour M., 226
 Lipson, Leslie, intro pages
 loyalty issues, 135, 195-200
 Loyalty Review Board, U.S., 196

McCarthy, Joseph, 252
 McGinnis, Michael, 215. See also Cal-in-the-Capital.
 McHenry, Dean, 243-245, 259-260
 Malia, Martin, 254
 Marks, Simon, 190
 Marshall, George C., 173
 Marshall Plan, 134-135, 183, 194-195, 247
 appropriations, 200-201
 development, 170, 176, 179
 "dollar shortage," and, 180-181
 Fulbright Exchange of Scholars, 183
 Interdepartmental Committee on, 181-182

The Marshall Plan..., 158
 Point 4 program, 235, 264
 proposal for, and Paris Conference, 181-182
 Means, Gardiner C., 151-153
 Merriam, Charles, 145
 Mitchell, Wesley C., 99
 Myrdal, Gunnar, 51

Nathan, Robert, 157, 163
 National Planning Association, 265
 nationalist movement,
 China, 74
 India, 74
 nations, concept of, 224-225
 Nehemkis, Peter, 144, 149-150
 Nelson, Donald, 155, 157, 163
 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 43-44
 Nixon, Richard M., 196, 236, 248
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 182, 200-201, 247

Odegard, Peter, 202-205, 214, 227, 229-230
 Ph.D. thesis, 5
 Oliver, Covey, 207, 225-226
 O'Mahoney, Joseph, 149
 Oppenheimer, Robert, 263

Pacific Relations, Institute of, 237
 Pacific Rim, concept of, 248-249
 Peace Corps, 209-210, 235, 265
 producers' cooperatives, 125

quota systems, 102-104
 marketing issues, 113-116
 milk industry, 113-114
 sugar industry, 102-104, 114-116

Reagan, Ronald, 131, 172, 243
 Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.
 See Hull, Cordell.
 Reed, Philip, 166, 168
 Remington, Bill, 198

- Riasonovsky, Nicholas, 254
 Robbins, Lloyd M., 5
 Robbins, Revel Drinkwater, and
 Saditha McCullough Fund, 5
 Robinson, Austin, 95-96
 Rockefeller, David, 208, 211-212
 Rockefeller, John D., Jr., 211
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 108, 110, 120,
 178. See also Appendix X.
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 45, 100-
 172, 195, 226-228
 friends and associates, 178
 Library, 165
 recognition of Soviet Union, 230
 See also United States,
 Government of the.
 Rosberg, Carl, 223-224
 Rose, Leo, 237
 Ruml, Beardsley, 145
 Rumsey, Mary Harriman, 116-117
 Russell, Frank, 220-221
- Sawyer, Charles, 101, 194-195, 205
 Saxby, Sheila, 203, 259
 Scalapino, Robert, 225, 236-237
 Seaborg, Glenn, 243, 253
 Seager, Henry R., 99
 Searles, Fred, 157
 Sears, Lawrence, 203-204
 Shartsis, Arthur, 215. See also
 Cal-in-the-Capital.
 Sieff, Israel, 190
 Siu, Dora, 209
 slavery, 48, 50, 250-251
 Smith, Al, 106
 Smith, Harold, 161, 178
 Soviet Union,
 Moscow visit, 87-90; Soviet-
 American Friendship Association,
 90; transit visa, 89-90
 Sproul, Robert Gordon, 203, 205,
 211
 steel industry, 153-156
 and full employment, 153-154, 156
 and War Production Board, 155
 Stettinius, Edward R., Jr., 167
 Stiles Hall (YMCA), 265
 Stoker, Cleo, 202-203, 206, 207,
 219, 225-226, 245, 259
- Strong, Edward, 243
 Struve, Gleb, 254
 Student Volunteer Movement, 60-62
- tariffs and trade, 104-106
 International Agreement on, 192
 Reagan, Ronald, views of, 131
 Reciprocal Trade Agreements, 105,
 131, 172-173, 179-180
 Kennedy Round, 180
 Taylor, Horace, 99
 Taylor, Paul, 140-142, 203, 207,
 225-226, 240, 255, 259
 Teller, Edward, 263
 Truman, Harry S., 135, 170-195,
 247, 252
 Tugwell, Rexford G., 99, 106, 120-
 122, 132
- United Bay Area Crusade, 265
 United Nations, 224-225
 failure to establish trade agency,
 179-180
 Internship Program, 256, 265
 proposed library, 220-222
 World Health Organization, 238
 United Nations Relief and
 Rehabilitation Administration
 (UNRRA), 168, 173, 197, 220
 United States, Government of the,
 Agricultural Adjustment
 Administration (AAA), 101, 109,
 111, 118, 124
 Consumers Council of, 109-113,
 117, 119
 Bureau of the Budget, 145, 161
 Civil Service Commission, 110-
 111, 160
 Departments,
 Agriculture, 124, 132, 229-234,
 261
 Commerce, 101, 104, 134-135,
 191-195, 197, 230
 Gold Medal Award, 135-136
 Bureau of the Census, 233-
 234
 Defense, 262
 Energy, 262

- Interior, 122
- State, 104-105, 167, 172, 181-183, 186, 192, 195-197, 208-210, 225, 232, 247, 250
 - Agency for International Development (AID), 232, 235, 264
- Treasury, 262
- War, 262
- Federal Housing Administration, 124
- Federal Reserve System, 130, 144
 - Board of, 261
- Federal Trade Commission, 101, 113, 143-144
 - "An Experiment in the Control of Business," 100
- Foreign Economic Administration, Mission for Economic Affairs (London), 165-171, 182, 184-186
- Interstate Commerce Commission, 159
- loyalty program, 135
- Loyalty Review Board, 196
- National Labor Relations Board, 119
- National Recovery Act (NRA, also NIRA)
 - Consumers Advisory Board, 112, 116-119
 - Labor Division, 117
 - unconstitutionality, 119
- National Resources Planning Board, and Industrial Committee of, 99, 144-147, 151-153, 156, 159-161, 164, 197
- National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel, 162
- Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 151
- Resettlement Administration, 119, 121-124
 - rammed-earth housing, 122-124, 126
- responsibility, lines of, 158-161, 261-265
- Rural Electrification Administration, 124
- Securities and Exchange Commission, 143-144, 149, 167
- Social Security Administration, 93, 141
 - and Board, 119, 136-141
- Temporary National Economic Committee (TNEC), 147-152, 226
- War Mobilization and Reconversion, Office of, 165
- War Production Board, and Planning Committee, 151, 155-157, 161-165, 230
 - Bureau of Orders and Regulations, 163-164
- War Shipping Administration, 169
- University of California, Berkeley, 202-266
- Academic Senate, 207, 214-217, 243, 260-261
- administration, 214, 217
 - organizational issues in, 260-263
- Agricultural Extension, 13
- Bureaus, 205-206
 - International Relations, 204-208, 219-220, 225, 229-237
 - Committee on Far Eastern Affairs, 206
 - International Conference on Agriculture and Cooperative Credit, 231-234
 - International Visitors Program, 209
- Public Administration, 220
- Centers,
 - Chinese Studies, 237, 257
 - and The Asian Survey, 237
 - Far Eastern Studies, 257
 - India Program, 257
 - Japanese Studies, 237
 - Korean Studies, 236
 - Slavic and East European Studies, 235-236, 253, 256-257
- Departments, 207, 258-264
 - and area programs, 258-259
 - and criss-cross of organization and subjects, 262-263
 - Economics, 207, 220-221, 233, 237, 240-241

- Political Science, 202, 241, 257, 264-265
- Russian, 257
- Institutes, 205-206, 220-224, 244-246
 - and relationships to Departments, 264
- East (Asiatic) Asian Studies, 207, 223
- Governmental Studies, 220-221
- Industrial Relations, 220-246
- International Studies, 207, 221-226, 244-246, 249, 253-259, 265
- Indonesian Economic Program, 240-241
- Indonesian Medical Program and medical schools,
 - in Jakarta, 238-239
 - in Surabaya, 239; and communist organization pressures, 238-239; and proposals for reorganization, 259-260
- Libraries, 219-223, 245-246
 - Doe, 220
 - Graduate Social Sciences (Hans Kelson), 220-221, 246. See also University of California, Berkeley, Bureaus; Departments; Institutes; Schools.
- Schools,
 - Business Administration, 220-221
 - Law, 246
 - Librarianship, 246
- women staff members, contributions of, 219
- University of California, San Francisco, School of Medicine, 237-238
- University of California, Santa Cruz, 243, 245
- University of California, Systemwide,
 - Academic Senate, 260-261
 - Agricultural Extension, 13
 - Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, 262-263
 - Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Berkeley, 221, 263
 - Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, 263
 - organizational issues, 260-262
 - unified budget, 260
- Vandenberg, Arthur H., 135
- Wallace, Henry, 106-107, 120-121, 166, 191-192
- Warren, Earl, 177
- Warrick, Sheridan, 211-212
- Waterloo (Königgretz), 1913
 - celebration of, 24-25
- Weizman, Chaim, 189-190
- Weld, William, 97
- Wellman, Harry, 113, 158
- White, Harry, 152
- Whitfield, Francis, 254
- Wilson, Charles, 157
- Winant, John Gilbert, 119, 137, 141, 167, 173-174
- Winter, Werner, 23, 90
- World Affairs Council of Northern California, 208, 213-215, 237, 265
- World War II, 151-152, 155-158, 161-177, 211
 - and post-war economic agreements, 184-188
- Young, Owen D., 162

Harriet Siegel Nathan

University of California at Berkeley alumna with two Journalism degrees: A.B. in 1941 and M. J. in 1965. Wrote for the on-campus paper, The Daily Californian ("Monarch of the College Dailies") as reporter, columnist, assistant women's editor, and managing editor. Prepared President Sproul's biennial report to the Legislature, 1942-44; wrote advertising copy; edited house journals; served on local and state boards of the League of Women Voters primarily in local and regional government and publications. As a graduate student, wrote for the University's Centennial Record. Worked as an interviewer/editor at the Regional Oral History Office part-time from the mid-sixties; concurrently served the Institute of Governmental Studies as Principal Editor doing editing, writing, research, production, and promotion of Institute publications. Wrote journal articles; and a book, Critical Choices in Interviews: Conduct, Use, and Research Role (1986) that included oral history interviews in the analysis. Also with Nancy Kreinberg co-authored the book, Teachers' Voices. Teachers' Wisdom: Seven Adventurous Teachers Think Aloud (1991), based on extended interviews with the teachers.

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